

CYPRUS RESEARCH CENTRE

TEXTS AND STUDIES OF THE HISTORY OF CYPRUS

- XI -

HIGHER EDUCATION IN BYZANTIUM  
IN THE THIRTEENTH AND EARLY FOURTEENTH  
CENTURIES

(1204 – *ca.*1310)

BY  
C. N. CONSTANTINIDES



NICOSIA

1982

© 1982, BY CYPRUS RESEARCH CENTRE AND C. N. CONSTANTINIDES

PRINTED IN CYPRUS AT THE ZAVALLIS PRESS, LTD., NICOSIA.

*TO*  
*SOTEROULLA*





## PREFACE

This volume is concerned with higher education in Byzantium during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. It is the outcome of three years' research resulting in a Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of London in September 1978. The original form of the work has not been altered either in content or in other ways. A few minor points have been revised, however, and additional bibliography, which was not incorporated in the text, has been added at the end. The material examined here has been divided into six chapters. An Appendix is also being included.

The first chapter gives an account of the restoration of higher education in Nicaea (1204-1261) and the attempts made by the Laskarid Emperors to revive and preserve tradition.

The second chapter gives an account of the restoration of higher secular schools in Constantinople after the reconquest of the city (1261-1282); while the third chapter is concerned with the Patriarchal School from its restoration in 1265 to *ca.* 1310.

Since the quality of higher education depended to a considerable degree on the intellectuals, the fourth chapter deals with those scholars who in various ways contributed in the continuity of higher education (1282-*ca.* 1310). In particular attention has been given to the teaching activities of Maximos Planoudes, undoubtedly the most outstanding figure of his time.

The fifth chapter deals with the *hypatoi tōn philosophōn* and the teaching of philosophy.

The sixth and last chapter is concerned with two aspects of higher education: a) the availability of books and text-books and b) the teaching of rhetoric and the *Quadrivium*. Particular attention has been given to the first aspect since it led scholars to search, rediscover and re-edit classical texts, compile anthologies and dictionaries. Thanks to these activities most of the classical works were secured for posterity. Moreover the quality of the scholarship of these erudites exercised strong influence on the future generations of Byzantine scholars and rendered valuable help to the Italian humanists.

The Appendix contains six letters of Constantine Akropolites, hitherto unpublished, which give details of his scholarly activities and the intellectual milieu of his day.

This work was prepared under the supervision of Professor D. M. Nicol of King's College London. I am indebted to his learned guidance, kindness and encouragement. I am very grateful to Miss J. Chrysostomides of Royal Holloway College London who read the work at various stages and offered valuable criticism. I also benefited from Professor R. Browning's generous help and advice. I wish to thank all friends and colleagues and particularly Dr. A. Moffat, Dr. J. Herrin, Dr. R. Macrides, Miss D. Maynard and Dr. D. Tomason who helped me in various ways.

I thank all the helpful staff of several libraries in the United Kingdom — in particular King's College London, Institute of Classical Studies, Institute of Historical Research, Warburg Institute and the British Library where most of the research had been carried out. I would also like to extend my thanks to the librarians of the Ambrosiana, Bodleian, Marciana, Vaticana and the Nationalbibliothek of Vienna who kindly provided me with photostats and microfilms and in some cases with descriptions of as yet uncatalogued manuscripts in their collections.

I am especially grateful to the Greek State Scholarships Foundation for providing finances during my three years' stay in London; and I should like to thank the Central Research Fund for a grant for the acquisition of microfilms of manuscripts. I would also like to thank Harvard University for the grant of a Summer Fellowship in 1981 which gave me the opportunity to visit Dumbarton Oaks, where I was able to revise my bibliography.

I am grateful to Dr. Theodore Papadopoulos, former Director of the Cyprus Research Centre and to Dr. Costas P. Kyrris, the present Director, for including this work in the publications of the Centre. My warmest thanks are due to my colleagues at the C.R.C. Dr. C. P. Kyrris, Dr. G. S. Georghallides, Mr M. Christodoulou and Dr. M. Kephala for their help while this book was in press. I owe a special debt to Mr M. Christodoulou, who most kindly volunteered to compile the Index. To Messrs. Zavallis Press I owe thanks for the accuracy and the quality of the work done. Finally, I wish to thank my wife, to whom this book is dedicated, for her constant moral support and encouragement during the many years of the preparation of this work.

*Cyprus Research Centre*

*January 1982*

C. N. CONSTANTINIDES

# CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	vii
A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION	xi
ABBREVIATIONS	xiii
INTRODUCTION	I
PART I	
HIGHER EDUCATION (1204-1261)	
CHAPTER I HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE NICAEAN EMPIRE	5
PART II	
HIGHER EDUCATION UNDER THE EARLY PALAIOLOGOI (1261-ca.1310)	
CHAPTER II HIGHER EDUCATION AT CONSTANTINOPLE (1261-1282) THE TEACHING OF GEORGE AKROPOLITES AND GEORGE OF CYPRUS	31
CHAPTER III THE PATRIARCHAL SCHOOL AT CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE LATE THIRTEENTH AND EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURIES	50
CHAPTER IV HIGHER EDUCATION IN CONSTANTINOPLE (1282-ca.1310)	
Part i THE TEACHING ACTIVITIES OF MAXIMOS PLANOUDÉS	66
Part ii PRIVATE AND PUBLIC TEACHERS OF HIGHER EDUCATION DURING THE LATE THIRTEENTH AND EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURIES	90
PART III	
THE ΥΠΑΤΟΙ, BOOKS, TEXT-BOOKS AND TEACHING	
CHAPTER V THE ΥΠΑΤΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΝ DURING THE THIRTEENTH AND EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURIES AND THE TEACHING OF PHILOSOPHY	113
CHAPTER VI THE AVAILABILITY OF BOOKS AND TEXT-BOOKS USED IN HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE TEACHING OF RHETORIC AND THE QUADRIVIUM	133
CONCLUSION	159
APPENDIX	163
BIBLIOGRAPHY	167
GENERAL INDEX	205
PLATE I	CODEX VIND. PHIL. GR. 254, f. 125v
PLATE II	CODEX AMBROS. H 81 SUP., f. 324v



## A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The names of Greek persons referred to have been simply transliterated into Latin characters, e.g. Maximos not Maximus, Andronikos not Andronicus. However, in certain cases such a transliteration appears to offend common English usage and Constantine was preferred to Konstantinos, George to Georgios and John to Ioannes.

The same applies to place-names which are given in their Greek form. But Constantinople was preferred to Konstantinoupolis and Rhodes to Rodos.

However, the names of classical authors and their works are given in the form they are better known and whenever possible as they were adopted by the English language. Thus Aristotle was preferred to Aristoteles and Euclid to Evkleides while *Analytica Priora* were preferred to *Analytika Protera* and *Elementa* were preferred to *Stoicheia*.

The titles and offices are mostly given in their Greek form but also in their English translation: e.g. *megas logothetēs* or grand logothete, *hypatos tōn philosophōn* but also 'consul of the philosophers'.



## ABBREVIATIONS

### (A) SOURCES

- |                                    |   |
|------------------------------------|---|
| Additamenta,                       | <i>Theodori Scutariotae Additamenta ad Georgii Acropolis Historiam</i> , ed. A. Heisenberg, Leipzig, 1903.  |
| Akropolites,                       | <i>Georgii Acropolitae Opera</i> , ed. A. Heisenberg, vols. I-II, Leipzig, 1903.  |
| Benakes, Choumnos,                 | L. G. Benakes, 'Νικηφόρου Χούμνου, Περὶ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τῶν ἰδεῶν', <i>Φιλοσοφία</i> 3 (1973), 339-81.   |
| Blemmydes, <i>Curriculum</i> ,     | <i>Nicephori Blemmydae Curriculum Vitae et Carmina</i> , ed. A. Heisenberg, Leipzig, 1896.  |
| Delehay, Constantini Acropolitae,  | H. Delehay, 'Constantini Acropolitae hagiographi Byzantini epistularum manipulus', <i>AB</i> 51 (1933), 263-84.   |
| Ephraim,                           | <i>Ephraemii monachi Imperatorum et Patriarcharum Recensus interprete A. Maio</i> , Bonn, 1840 (PG 143, cols. 1-380).   |
| Eustratiades, Kyprios,             | S. Eustratiades, 'Ἐπιστολαὶ Πατριάρχου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου', <i>EPh</i> 1-5 (1908-1910). Complete ed. <i>idem</i> , <i>Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ μῦθοι</i> , Alexandria, 1910.  |
| Fatouros, Gabras,                  | G. Fatouros, <i>Die Briefe des Michael Gabras (ca. 1290-nach 1350)</i> (Wiener Byzantinische Studien, Bd., 10), vols. 1-2, Vienna, 1973.  |
| Glykys, <i>De vera syntaxeos</i> , | <i>Ioannis Glycae patriarchae Constantinopolitani opus de vera syntaxeos ratione, supplementum Walziani Corporis Rhetorum Graecorum tribus e codicibus Monacensibus editit atque recensuit, prolegomena, varias lectiones, emendationes, explicationes et indices adjecit Albertus Jahnus</i> , Bernae, 1849. |
| Gregoras,                          | <i>Nicephori Gregorae, Byzantina Historia</i> , ed. L. Schopen, (CSHB), Bonn, 1829-55, 3 vols.  |
| Gregoras, <i>Correspondence</i> ,  | R. Guillard, <i>La correspondance de Nicéphore Grégores</i> , Paris, 1927.  |

- Heisenberg, *Neue Quellen*, A. Heisenberg, 'Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion. I. Der Epitaphios des Nikolaos Mesarites auf seinen Bruder Johannes; II. Die Unionsverhandlungen vom 30. August 1206; III. Der Bericht des Nikolaos Mesarites über die politischen und kirchlichen Ereignisse des Jahres 1214', *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-philolog. und hist. Klasse*, 1922, Abh. 5; 1923, Abh. 2-3, Munich, 1923 (Repr. Variorum: London, 1973).
- Holobolos, *Orationes*, M. Treu, *Manuelis Holoboli Orationes*, I-II, *Programm des königlichen Victoria-Gymnasiums zu Potsdam*, Potsdam, 1906-1907.
- Hyrtakenos, *Letters*, F. J. G. La porte-du Theil, 'Notices et Extraits d'un volume de la Bibliothèque Nationale, côte MCCIX parmi les manuscrits grecs, et contenant les opuscules et lettres anecdotes de Théodôre l'Hyrtacênien', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* V (1798), 709-744; VI (1800), 1-48.
- Jonker, Bryennios, G. H. Jonker, *The harmonics of Manuel Bryennios*, Groningen, 1970.
- Kantakouzenos, *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri IV*, ed. L. Schopen, (CSHB), Bonn, 1828-32, 3 vols.
- Kougeas, Münchener Thukydides, S. Kougeas, 'Zur Geschichte der Münchener Thukydideshandschrift, Augustanus F.', *BZ* 16 (1907), 588-609.
- Lameere, *Tradition*, W. Lameere, *La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de Grégoire de Chypre, patriarche de Constantinople (1283-1289)*, Brussels-Rome, 1937.
- Lampros, Choniates, Sp. P. Lampros, *Μιχαήλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ σωζόμενα*, vols. I-II, Athens, 1879-1880.
- Laskaris, *Letters*, N. Festa, *Theodori Ducae Laskaris epistulae CCXVII*, Florence, 1898.
- Laurent, Babouskomites, V. Laurent, 'La correspondance inédite de Georges Babouscomitès', *Εἰς μνήμην Σπυρίδωνος Λάμπρου*, Athens, 1935, pp. 83-100.
- Laurent, Blachernes, V. Laurent, 'Les signataires du second concile des Blachernes', *EO* 26 (1927), 129-149.



- Lindstam, *Lacapeni epistulae X priores*,  
 Lindstam *Lakapenos and Zarides*,  
 Markopoulos, *Encomium*,  
 Pachymeres,  
 Pachymeres, *Quadrivium*,  
 Papadopoulos, Chioniades,  
 Philes, *Carmina*,  
 Planoudes, *Letters*,  
 Rein, *Briefsammlung*,  
 Ševčenko, Moschopoulos,  
 Skoutariotes,  
 Treu, Makrembolites,  
 Treu, Pediasimos,  
 Treu, TM,
- S. Lindstam, *Georgii Lacapeni epistulae X priores cum epimerismis editae*, Upsala, 1910.  
 S. Lindstam, *Georgii Lacapeni et Andronici Zaridae epistulae XXXII cum epimerismis Lacapeni*, Gothoburgi, 1924.  
 A. Markopoulos, 'Θεοδώρου Β' Λασκάρεως, 'Ανέκδοτον ἐγκώμιον πρὸς τὸν Γεώργιον 'Ακροπολίτην', *EEBS* 36 (1968), 104-118, text pp. 111-118.  
*Georgii Pachymeris, De Michaelē et Andronico Palaeologis*, ed. I. Bekker, (CSHB), Bonn, 1835, 2 vols.  
 P. Tannery, *Quadrivium de Georges Pachymère ou Σύνταγμα τῶν τεσσάρων μαθημάτων ἀριθμητικῆς, μουσικῆς, γεωμετρίας καὶ ἀστρονομίας* (Studi e Testi, 94), Vatican, 1940.  
 J. Papadopoulos, 'Γρηγορίου Χιονιάδου τοῦ ἀστρονόμου ἐπιστολαί', 'Επιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης, I (1927), 151-204.  
*Manuelis Philae Carmina*, ed. E. Miller, I-II, Paris, 1855-57.  
 M. Treu, *Maximi Monachi Planudis Epistulae*, Breslau, 1890 (Repr. Amstelodamum, 1960).  
 E. Rein, *Die Florentiner Briefsammlung* (Annales Academie Scientiarum Fennicae, Ser. B, XIV, 2), Helsinki, 1915.  
 I. Ševčenko, 'The Imprisonment of Manuel Moschopoulos in the year 1305 or 1306', *Speculum* 27 (1952), 133-157.  
 'Αωνόμου, *Σύνοψις Χρονικῆς*, ed. K. Sathas, MB, VII, Paris, 1894, pp. 1-556.  
 M. Treu, *Eustathii Macrembolitae quae ferundur ainigmata, Programm des königlichen Friedrichs-Gymnasiums zu Breslau*, Breslau, 1893.  
 M. Treu, *Theodori Pediasimi, eiusquae amicorum quae extant*, Potsdam, 1899.  
 M. Treu, *Dichtungen des Gross-Logotheten Theodoros Metochites, Programm des Victoria-Gymnasiums zu Potsdam Ostern 1895*, Potsdam, 1895.

(B) COLLECTION OF SOURCES  
PERIODICALS AND OTHER WORKS FREQUENTLY CITED

- AB* *Analecta Bollantiana.*
- Ahrweiler, Smyrne, Hélène Ahrweiler, 'L'histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081-1317), particulièrement au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Travaux et Mémoires* I (1965), 1-204.
- Angold, *Laskarids*, M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile. Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea (1204-1261)*, Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Anthologia Palatina*, F. Dübner and Ed. Cougny, *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et Appendice Nova*, 3 vols. Paris, 1864-1890.
- Aubreton, *Triclinius*, R. Aubreton, *Démétrius Triclinius et les recensions médiévales de Sophocle* (Collection d'Études Anciennes), Paris, 1949.
- B* *Byzantion.*
- Bandini, *Catalogus*, A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, I-III, Florence, 1764-1770 (Repr. Leipzig, 1961).
- BF* *Byzantinische Forschungen.*
- Bassi, Manoscritti, D. Bassi, 'I Manoscritti di Giovanni Pediasimo', *Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, Rendiconti*, Serie II, 31 (1898), 1399-1418.
- Beck, *Kirche*, H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, XII, 2, 1), Munich, 1959.
- BHG*,<sup>3</sup> *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3rd ed. by F. Hal-kin, I-III, Brussels, 1957.
- BICS* *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies.*
- BMGS* *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies.*
- BNJ* *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher.*
- Browning, Cod. Marc. Gr. XI. 31, R. Browning, 'Il codice Marciano Gr. XI. 31 e la schedografia bizantina', *Miscellanea Marciana di Studi Bessarionei, Medioevo e Umanesimo* 24 (Padua, 1976), 21-34.
- Browning, Enlightenment, R. Browning, 'Enlightenment and Repression in Byzantium in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Past and Present* 69 (Oxford, 1975), 3-23

- (Repr. Variorum: London, 1977).
- Browning, Literacy, R. Browning, 'Literacy in the Byzantine World', *BMGS* 4 (1978), 39-54.
- Browning, Recentiores, R. Browning, 'Recentiores non Deteriores', *BICS* 7 (1960), 11-21 (Repr. Variorum: London, 1977).
- Browning, School, R. Browning, 'The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century', *Byzantion* 32 (1962), 167-202 and 33 (1963), 11-40.
- BS *Byzantinoslavica*.
- Buckler, Education, C. Buckler, 'Byzantine Education', in N. H. Baynes and H. St L. B. Moss, *Byzantium*, Oxford, 1948, pp. 200-220.
- Byz. *Bυζαντινά*.
- BZ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*.
- CAG *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*.
- CFHB *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*.
- Clark, *Rhetoric*, D. L. Clark, *Rhetoric in Graecoroman Education*, Columbia, 1957.
- CMH, IV, ii, *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. IV, *The Byzantine Empire*. Part II: *Government, Church and Civilisation*, ed. J. M. Hussey, Cambridge University Press, 1967.
- CSHB *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*.
- Darrouzès, *ΟΦΦΙΚΙΑ*, J. Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les ΟΦΦΙΚΙΑ de l'Église Byzantine* (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien, 11), Paris, 1970.
- Devreesse, *Codices*, II, III, R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, II: *Codices 330-603* and III: *Codices 604-866*, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vatican, 1937 and 1940.
- DHGE *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*.
- ΔΙΕΕΕ *Δελτίον της 'Ιστορικῆς καὶ 'Εθνολογικῆς 'Εταιρείας της 'Ελλάδος*.
- Dölger, *Schatzkammern*, F. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges*, 2 vols., Munich, 1948.
- Dölger, *Regesten*, F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, part III: 1204-1282; part IV: 1282-1341, Munich and Berlin, 1932, 1960.
- DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*.

- DS *Dictionnaire de spiritualité.*
- DTC *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique.*
- EA 'Εκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια.
- EB *Études Byzantines*, (continued as *Revue des Études Byzantines*, (REB), q.v.).
- EEBS 'Επετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν.
- EO *Échos d'Orient*, (continued as *Études Byzantines* (EB), q.v.).
- EPh 'Εκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος.
- Fabrizius, BG, J. A. Fabricius-G. Chr. Harless, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I-XII, Hamburg, 1790-1809 (Repr. Hildesheim, 1966-70).
- Fuchs, *Schulen*, Fr. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* (Byzantinisches Archiv, 8), Leipzig-Berlin, 1926.
- Gill, Union of Lyons, J. Gill, 'The Church Union of the Council of Lyons (1274) portrayed in Greek documents', *OCP* 40 (1974), 5-45.
- GRBS *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies.*
- Grumel, *Chronologie*, V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Traité des études byzantines, I), Paris, 1958.
- Grumel, *Regestes*, V. Grumel, *Les registes des Actes du patriarchat byzantin: Les registes des patriarches (381-1206)*, I-III, Paris, 1932-1947.
- Guilland, Logothetes, R. Guilland, 'Les Logothètes. Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin', *REB* 29 (1971), 5-115.
- Harlfinger, *Περὶ Ἀτόμων γραμμῶν*, D. Harlfinger, *Die Textgeschichte der pseudo-aristotelischen Schrift Περὶ Ἀτόμων γραμμῶν*, Amsterdam, 1971.
- Hunger, *Katalog*, H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, I, Vienna, 1961.
- Hunger, *Mimesis*, H. Hunger, 'On the imitation (μίμησις) of antiquity in Byzantine Literature', *DOP* 23/24 (1969/70), 17-38 (Repr. *Variorum*: London, 1973).
- Hunger, *Wissenschaft*, H. Hunger, 'Von Wissenschaft und Kunst der frühen Palaiologenzeit. Mit einem Exkurs über die Kosmike Delosis Theodoros' II. Dukas Laskaris',

- JOBG 8 (1959), 123-55 (Repr. Variorum: London, 1973).  
 Hussey, *Church and Learning*,  
 Irigoin, *Pindare*,  
 Janin, *Églises*,<sup>2</sup>  
 JHS  
 JOB  
 JOBG  
 Kerameus, *Analekta*,  
 Kerameus, *Bibliothke*,  
 Kerameus, *Varia Sacra*,  
 Kougeas, *Planudea*,  
 Kourouses, *Gabalas*,  
 Kourouses, *Galesiotes*,  
 Kourouses, *Glykys*,  
 Krumbacher, *GBL*,<sup>2</sup>  
 Kustas, *Rhetoric*,  
 J. Hussey, *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire, 867-1185*, London, 1937.  
 J. Irigoin, *Histoire du texte de Pindare*, Paris, 1952.  
 R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I: *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, III: *Les églises et les monastères*, 2nd edition, Paris, 1969.  
*Journal of Hellenic Studies*.  
*Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*.  
*Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*, (continued as *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* (JOB), q.v.).  
 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ανάλεκτα 'Ιεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας, 5 vols., St. Petersburg, 1891-1898.  
 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ιεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, ἥτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου Πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν 'Ιεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἐλληνικῶν κωδίκων, 5 vols., St. Petersburg, 1891-1915.  
 A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia Graeca Sacra*, St. Petersburg, 1909 (Repr. Leipzig, 1975).  
 S. Kougeas, 'Analekta Planudea', *BZ* 18 (1909), 106-46.  
 S. I. Kourouses, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλᾶς εἰτα Ματθαῖος Μητροπολίτης 'Εφέσου (1271/2-1355/60)* ('Αθηνᾶ, Σειρὰ διατριβῶν καὶ μελετημάτων, 12), Athens, 1972.  
 S. I. Kourouses, 'Ἡ πρώτη ἡλικία καὶ ἡ πρώϊμος σταδιοδρομία τοῦ πρωτεκδίκου καὶ εἷτα σακελίου τῆς μεγάλης 'Εκκλησίας Γεωργίου Γαλησιώτου (1278/80-1357/;)', 'Αθηνᾶ 75 (1974-75), 335-74.  
 S. I. Kourouses, 'Ὁ λόγιος οἰκουμενικὸς Πατριάρχης 'Ιωάννης ΙΓ' ὁ Γλυκύς', *EEBS* 41 (1974), 297-405.  
 K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur (527-1453)*, 2nd edition, Munich, 1897.  
 G. L. Kustas, *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric* ('Ανά-

- λεκτα Βλατάδων, 17), Thessalonike, 1973.
- Laiou, *Observations*, A. Laiou, 'Some Observations on Alexios Philanthropenos and Maximos Planoudes', *BMGS* 4 (1978), 89-99.
- Laurent, *Chronologie*, V. Laurent, 'La chronologie des patriarches de Constantinople au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (1208-1309)', *REB* 27 (1969), 129-150.
- Laurent, *Corpus*, V. Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, V, 1-3: *L'Église*, Paris, 1963-1972.
- Laurent-Darrouzès, *Dossier*, V. Laurent and J. Darrouzès, *Dossier grec de l'Union de Lyon (1273-1277)* (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien, 16), Paris, 1976.
- Laurent, *Légendes sigillographiques*, V. Laurent, 'Légendes sigillographiques et familles byzantines,' *EO* 31 (1932), 327-49.
- Laurent, *Moschabar*, V. Laurent, 'Un polémiste grec de la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. La vie et les oeuvres de Georges Moschabar', *EO* 28 (1929), 129-158.
- Laurent, *Regestes*, V. Laurent, *Les registes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople*, I: *Les actes des patriarches*, fasc. IV: *Les registes des 1208 à 1309*, Paris, 1971.
- Lemerle, *Humanisme*, P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin. Notes et remarques sur l'enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au X<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Bibliothèque Byzantine, études 6), Paris, 1971.
- Manaphes, *Bibliothekai*, K. A. Manaphes, *Αἱ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει βιβλιοθηκαί, Αυτοκρατορικαὶ καὶ Πατριαρχική, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς χειρογράφων μέχρι τῆς ἀλώσεως (1453)* ('Αθηνᾶ, Σειρὰ διατριβῶν καὶ μελετημάτων, 14), Athens, 1972.
- Martini-Bassi, *Catalogus*, A. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, 2 vols., Milan, 1906.
- Mercati-Cavalieri, *Codices*, I. Mercati et Pius Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, I: *Codices 1-329*, Rome, 1923.
- MM, *Acta*, F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols., Vienna, 1860-90.
- Morau et al., *Aristoteles Graecus*, P. Morau et al., *Aristoteles Graecus: die griechischen Manuskripte des Aristoteles* (Peripatoi, Bd., 8), Berlin-New York, 1976.

- NH* Νέος 'Ελληνομνήμων.
- Nicol, Akropolites, D. M. Nicol, 'Constantine Akropolites. A prosopographical note', *DOP* 19 (1965), 249-56.
- Nicol, *Kantakouzenos*, D. M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100-1460. A Genealogical and Prosopographical Study* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, XI), Washington, D. C., 1968.
- Nicol, Learning, D. M. Nicol, 'The Byzantine Church and Hellenic Learning in the Fourteenth Century', *Studies in Church History*, V, ed. G. J. Cuming, Leiden, 1969, pp. 23-57 (Repr. Variorum: London, 1972).
- OCP* *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*.
- Omont, *MSS. grecs datés*, H. Omont, *Fac-similés des manuscrits grecs datés de la Bibliothèque Nationale du IX<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1891.
- Papadopoulos, *Theodore II*, J. B. Papadopoulos, *Théodore II Laskaris, empereur de Nicée*, Paris, 1908.
- Patover, Byzantine Libraries, S. K. Padover, 'Byzantine Libraries', in J. W. Thompson, *The medieval library*, University of Chicago, 1939, pp. 310-29.
- PG* J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeco-Latina*, vols. 1-161, Paris, 1857-66.
- Pingree, Chioniades, D. Pingree, 'Gregory Chioniades and Palaeologan Astronomy', *DOP* 18 (1964), 133-60.
- PL* J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina*, vols. 1-221, Paris, 1844-55.
- Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie*, G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz. Der Streit um die theologische Methodik in der spätbyzantinischen Geistesgeschichte (14./15. Jh.), seine systematischen Grundlagen und seine historische Entwicklung* (Byzantinisches Archiv, 15), Munich, 1977.
- Polemis, *Doukai*, D. I. Polemis, *The Doukai. A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography*, London, 1968.
- Ralles-Potles, *Syntagma*, G. A. Rhalles and M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, 6 vols., Athens, 1852-59.
- RE* Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*.
- REB* *Revue des Études Byzantines*.

- REG *Revue des Études Grecques*
- RHSE *Revue historique du sud-est européen.*
- Sarton, *History of Science*, G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, vols. I–III, Baltimore, 1927–1948.
- Sathas, MB, K. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, 7 vols., Venice–Paris, 1872–94.
- SB(N) *Studi Bizantini (e Neoellenici).*
- Schmitt, Lateinische Literatur in Byzanz, W. O. Schmitt, 'Lateinische Literatur in Byzanz. Die Übersetzungen des Maximus Planudes und die moderne Forschung', *ĴOBG* 17 (1968), 127–47.
- Ševčenko, Metochites, I. Ševčenko, 'Theodore Metochites, the Chora and the Intellectual Trends of his Time', *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 4, Princeton, 1975, pp. 19–91.
- Ševčenko, *Polémique*, I. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochites et Nicéphore Choumnos. La vie intellectuelle et politique à Byzance sous les premiers Paléologues* (Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae, Subsidia 3), Brussels, 1962.
- SIFC *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica.*
- TAPA *Transactions and proceedings of the American Philological Association.*
- TAPS *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society.*
- TM *Travaux et Mémoires.*
- Tatakis, *Philosophie*, B. Tatakis, *La Philosophie byzantine (Histoire de la Philosophie*, ed. by E. Bréhier, fasc. suppl., No II), Paris, 1949.
- Trapp, *Lexikon*, E. Trapp et al., *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, I–II, Vienna, 1976–77.
- Turyn, *Aeschylus*, A. Turyn, *The Manuscript tradition of the tragedies of Aeschylus* (Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America), New York City, 1943.
- Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani*, A. Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi*, Vatican, 1964.
- Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, A. Turyn, *Dated Greek manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the libraries of Italy*, I–II, Urbana–Chicago–London, 1972.
- Turyn, *Euripides*, A. Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript tradition of*



- the tragedies of Euripides* (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 43), Urbana, 1957.
- Turyn, *Sophocles*, A. Turyn, *Studies in the Manuscript tradition of the tragedies of Sophocles* (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 36, Nos 1-2), Urbana, 1952.
- Turyn, Sophocles Recension, A. Turyn, 'The Sophocles Recension of Manuel Moschopolus', *TAPA* 80 (1949), 94-173.
- Verpeaux, *Choumnos*, J. Verpeaux, *Nicéphore Choumnos, homme d'état et humaniste byzantin (ca. 1250/1255-1327)*, Paris, 1959.
- Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos*, J. Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos, Traités des Offices*, Paris, 1966.
- Vogel-Gardthausen, M. Vogel-V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1909 (Repr. Hildesheim, 1966).
- VV *Vizantijskij Vremennik*.
- Wartelle, *Inventaire*, A. Wartelle, *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs d'Aristote et de ses commentateurs*, Paris, 1963.
- Wendel, Planoudea, C. Wendel, 'Planudea', *BZ* 40 (1940), 406-45.
- Wilson, Books and Readers, N. G. Wilson, 'Books and Readers in Byzantium', *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., 1975, pp. 2-15.
- Wilson, Church and classical studies, N. G. Wilson, 'The Church and classical studies in Byzantium', *Antike und Abendland* 16 (1970), 68-77.
- Wilson, Libraries, N. G. Wilson, 'The libraries of the Byzantine world', *GRBS* 8 (1967), 53-80.
- Zbornik Radova*, *Zbornik Radova Vizantologiskog Instituta*.
- Zepos, *JGR*, J. Zepos and P. Zepos, *Jus graecoromanum*, 8 vols., Athens, 1931.
- ZfB* *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*.



## INTRODUCTION

Higher education under the Laskarids and the early Palaiologoi is the subject of this book. The two dates within which it is framed are 1204 and *ca.* 1310, though at times these limits are overstepped in order to give a clearer view of the developments that took place during this period. In the first of these years there occurred a momentous event in the history of Byzantium, the conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade, which brought about the fragmentation of the Empire. This inevitably profoundly affected Byzantine education and learning which had been for generations the hallmark of the Empire, distinguishing it from other medieval states in Europe. The second date, *ca.* 1310, marks the completion of a long process of developments in higher education which began as a result of the events of 1204 and which led to the subsequent flourishing of learning.

The structure of Byzantine education went back to late antiquity. The text-books used in teaching were selected from among what were considered to be the best classical and post-classical works. Education consisted of three stages: *hiera grammata*, *enkyklios paideia* and higher education. The *hiera grammata*,<sup>1</sup> which might be called primary education, began at about the age of six or seven and consisted mainly of reading, writing and spelling. This elementary education was religious in character and was taught mainly through Christian texts. After three or four years the pupil entered the *enkyklios paideia*<sup>2</sup> which included mainly the study of grammar, poetry, rhetoric and lower mathematics. But it seems that during this secondary education which lasted for five or six years special attention was given to grammar. The *enkyklios paideia*, which was based on secular sources, enabled a young man to obtain a general learning required by the lesser offices of Church and State. For the chief positions at court and in the Church, however, a higher education was required. This consisted of a deeper and more serious study of poetry, rhetoric, higher mathematics (i.e. arithmetic, music or harmonics, geometry and astronomy) and philosophy based on the Aristotelian *Organon*. The higher ecclesiastical offices were usually filled by graduates of the Patriarchal School where students, after going through sec-

1. On the *hiera grammata* see Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, I, Athens, 1948, pp. 35-105; Buckler, *Education*, pp. 203-204; Lemerle, *Humanisme*, pp. 99-100.

2. On the *enkyklios paideia* see Fuchs, *Schulen*, pp. 41-45; Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, I, Athens, 1948, pp. 105-37; G. H. Tsampis, *Byzantine Education: Its theory and practice*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1964, pp. 135-54; Buckler, *Education*, pp. 204-206; Lemerle, *Humanisme*, pp. 100-101.

ular education at all levels, specialized in theology. Higher education therefore enjoyed the patronage of and was financed by the State and by the Church which were almost the only employers of learned men. Though the standards of education varied from time to time it appears that Homer and Demosthenes, Euclid and Aristotle were taught almost uninterruptedly throughout the long history of Byzantium. Moreover works written by distinguished teachers on various subjects of the curriculum and mostly based on classical works served also as text-books. This is for example the case with the grammatical works of George Choïroboskos and Dionysios Thrax, the rhetorical works of Aphthonios, Hermogenes and Libanios, the philosophical commentaries of Porphyry, Philoponos and Alexander of Aphrodisias, or the mathematical commentaries of Theon of Smyrna.

It was this tradition in education that the Nicaean Empire of the Laskarids strove to preserve after 1204. At the same time the altered fortunes of the Empire introduced new elements which persisted under the Palaiologoi so that the subsequent history of higher education reveals two strands: continuity and change.

Despite the enormous difficulties Byzantium had to face during this period both externally and internally in almost every sector of life—political, social, economic and religious—higher learning never lost its prestige among the wealthy élite who provided the Empire with its Emperors and administrators and who created conditions favourable to the continuity of education and scholarship.

One difficulty in writing about higher education in Byzantium is the scarcity of sources, which in some cases seem not to exist, while in others they remain unedited. For instance there are no documents at this period which might give precise information on the organization of institutions of higher education, or on the programme and methods of teaching. Details concerning these aspects have to be culled from a variety of sources, such as letters, orations, poems, commentaries and histories. It is, therefore, perhaps inevitable that this study should raise more problems than it ever hopes to solve.

PART I

HIGHER EDUCATION (1204-1261)



## CHAPTER I

### HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE NICAEAN EMPIRE

The political weakness of the Byzantine Empire, increasingly apparent towards the end of the twelfth century, does not seem to have affected higher education since at the time this was mainly pursued under the aegis of the patriarchate. The decline of imperial authority therefore both in the provinces and along the frontiers had no immediate impact on higher education. Indeed at about 1200 the Patriarchal School seems to have been a flourishing institution providing elementary to higher secular and religious education. Rhetoric, higher mathematics, philosophy and medicine were taught in the various branches of the Patriarchal School under different professors whose names are known to us. Furthermore a new chair, that of the *maistōr tōn philosophōn*, seems to have been created.<sup>1</sup>

The disaster of 1204 therefore not only threatened the very political existence of Byzantium but also constituted a violent break for higher education upon which both the State and the Church so much relied through the centuries either to secure their continuity by employing well trained officials or to keep their cultural superiority over neighbouring nations.

This continuity was disrupted when both Emperor and Patriarch fled the capital and became refugees in their own country. It was inevitable therefore that higher education in Constantinople deprived of its patrons and under a foreign administration, which was on the whole alien if not hostile to it, should stagnate and that scholars should be compelled to make their way to the provinces where new political centres were being formed.

Of the three Greek States which grew up on the ruins of Byzantium, Nicaea from the very beginning saw itself as the legitimate Empire in exile, not simply in the political but also in the religious and cultural sphere. Since the capture of Constantinople in 1204 under continuous pressure by the foreign powers, both secular and spiritual, a great number of intellectuals and high officials had found refuge at the court of Theodore I Laskaris (1204-1222). Theodore I relied on these scholars both lay and ecclesiastical, and their presence at his court served as a nucleus in the re-establishment of a traditional centralised administration and a patriarchate. We find for instance names such as Niketas Choniates, the

1. Browning, *School*, pp. 177, 197, 198-200, 11-12, 26-32, 37-40.

former grand logothete, who became the official rhetor of the Nicaean court and was then raised to a high judicial office;<sup>2</sup> Nikolaos Mesarites, former deacon of the Great Church, who was authorised by Theodore I to lead the discussions with the Pope's legates and who later became metropolitan of Ephesos;<sup>3</sup> Theodore Eirenikos, who was *epi tou kanikleiou* before 1204, was later promoted by Theodore I Laskaris to the office of *hypatos tōn philosophōn* and finally became Patriarch in 1214;<sup>4</sup> Demetrios Karykes, who became grand logariast and *hypatos tōn philosophōn*, and for a while supervised higher education;<sup>5</sup> Manuel Karantenos or Sarantenos, who as deacon was *maistōr* of the philosophers in the Patriarchal School and who later became Patriarch in Nicaea (1217-1222);<sup>6</sup> Nikephoros Blemmydes' family and indeed a stream of noble and ordinary people whose presence in Nicaea helped towards the recreation of the intellectual atmosphere in Constantinople.<sup>7</sup>

But although these intellectuals were reinstated in their old posts or promoted to others the Empire of Nicaea, absorbed in the struggle for survival, was unable, it seems, to embark on the re-establishment of the institutions for higher education in the early stages of its life. The lack of the school buildings, libraries and the scarcity of books which had remained behind in Constantinople must

2. Lampros, Choniates, I, p. 345, n.; cf. Angold, *Laskarids*, p. 149 and references.

3. Heisenberg, Neue Quellen, II, p. 15, 1-8. In the discussion of 30 August 1206 the Orthodox leaders were Nikolaos Mesarites and John Kontothodoros who was *μαϊστωρ τῆς πρώτης σχολῆς τῶν γραμματικῶν*; Nikolaos' brother, John Mesarites, who died in Constantinople on 5 February 1207 had earlier been *didaskalos tou psaltēros* in the Patriarchal School; cf. Browning, School, pp. 11-12; Angold, *Laskarids*, pp. 51, 53.

4. Lampros, Choniates, II, pp. 102, 121; PG 147, col. 465 AB; A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Θεόδωρος Ειρηνικός, Πατριάρχης Οικουμενικός', *BZ* 10 (1901), 182-92; cf. Laurent, *Regestes*, No 1219, p. 25.

5. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 55, 14-18; cf. Angold, *Laskarids*, pp. 170, 179-80. The offices and titles granted by Theodore I assume the continuation of higher education but nothing more is known about the actual institutions and the teaching.

6. Browning, School, pp. 198-200; Laurent, *Regestes*, No 1232, p. 38. Names of former professors who were active in the Patriarchal School in Constantinople before 1204 appear on documents issued by the patriarchate in Nicaea. So far we know of two: the *oikoumenikos didaskalos* Constantine Kaloethes who became bishop of Madyta and in that capacity signed an ecclesiastical document in 1209; Nikephoros Chrysoberges former *maistōr tōn rhetorōn* who became bishop of Sardis and signed a document in that capacity in 1213. See Browning, School, pp. 185, 197; *idem*, cod. Marc. Gr. XI. 31, pp. 24, 27; A. Pavlov, *VV* 4 (1897), 164-66; C. Chatzepsaltes, 'Ἡ ἐκκλησία τῆς Κύπρου καὶ τὸ ἐν Νικαίᾳ Πατριαρχεῖον', *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί* 28 (1964), 142; Dölger, *Regesten*, No 1686; Laurent, *Regestes*, No 1214, pp. 16-18.

7. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 55, 6-7; Akropolites, I, pp. 10, 13-14, 11, 6-9, 30, 15-22; Skoutariotes, p. 465, 10-16 (*Addimenta*, p. 280); for the flight of people see Angold, *Laskarids*, p. 104; D. M. Nicol, 'Refugees, mixed population and local patriotism in Epiros and Western Macedonia after the Fourth Crusade', *Rapport, XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, Athens, 1976, p. 11; A. E. Vakalopoulos, *Origins of the Greek Nation: The Byzantine period (1204-1461)*, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1970, p. 35.



have contributed to this to a large extent.

It is possible that the Nicaean government gave first priority to *enkyklios paideia* for we find that secondary schools continued to train pupils and such education was available in the main towns of the Empire;<sup>8</sup> but this level of education could not meet the demands of the Empire in exile. Furthermore the need for institutions for higher education or at least education for high officials either in political or ecclesiastical departments became pressing when the first generation of refugee scholars had to be replaced.

Despite this lack of institutions higher education in Nicaea seems to have been provided by a small number of scholars who acted as private teachers at the time. The life of Nikephoros Blemmydes illustrates this very clearly. Blemmydes in his autobiography speaks in detail about his studies. He was born in Constantinople *ca.* 1197/98 but his family fled from the capital to Bithynia after the fall of the city to the crusaders.<sup>9</sup> Nikephoros studied the *hiera grammata* or grammar in Prousa for nearly four years under Monasteriotes, the future metropolitan of Ephesos.<sup>10</sup> Then he received his *enkyklios paideia* in Nicaea. It included Homeric and other poetry, rhetoric by means of the *progymnasmata* of Aphthonios and 'the art of rhetoric' of Hermogenes, and logic which covered everything before the analytics.<sup>11</sup> Blemmydes was then sixteen years old and he wanted to continue his studies but he found nobody to teach him. One may wonder therefore what were the duties of the *hypatos tōn philosophōn*, Theodore Eirenikos.<sup>12</sup> Blemmydes also says that the future holder of the office, the polymath Demetrios Karykes, was his teacher in logic.<sup>13</sup> There is good reason to suppose that there was no lack of teachers for the young Blemmydes but lack of an equipped imperial

8. Cf. Angold, *Laskarids*, p. 178. Even in the Latin-controlled Constantinople George Akropolites was able to study in such a school. See Akropolites, I, p. 46, 12-15.

9. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 55, 5-6. Blemmydes was 66 years old in May 1264; see *ibid.*, p. 1, 1 and title. To the list of the bearers of this name given by Trapp, *Lexikon*, II, Nos 2895-98, pp. 87-88 may be added at least the following: the fifteenth-century owner of Paris. Suppl. Gr. 1278 who was called Demetrios Droubanes τοῦ Βλεμίδου and at a later period the *hieromonachos* and melodist of Byzantine music, Metrophanes Blemmydes, who appears in an eighteenth-century manuscript (cod. Hierosol. Patriarchatus 146); see Kerameus, *Bibliothèque*, I, p. 249; C. Astruc and M.-L. Concasty, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits, Catalogue des Manuscrits Grecs, Le supplément Grec*, vol. III, Paris, 1960, p. 526.

10. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 2, 9-23; p. 6, 27-28; p. 15, 8-10; p. 55, 7-8.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 2, 23-29; p. 6, 26-27; p. 55, 8-10.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 29-3, 1: μελίζονος δ' ἐπὶ λόγους ἐπιέμενος ἐπιδόσεως, οὐκ εἶχον τὸν ἡγησόμενον; *ibid.*, p. 2, 27-28.

13. Heisenberg, (Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. XII) and Fuchs (*Schulen*, p. 55) maintain that Karykes' school was in Smyrna. It seems, however, that his school was in Nicaea for Blemmydes does not mention that he ever studied in Smyrna. It was perhaps accidental that he was examined by Karykes at Smyrna *ca.* 1223; the latter seems to have accompanied the Emperor there at that time and it is probably for that reason that the *viva* took place there (see Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 55, 8-21).

or ecclesiastical institution for that purpose. This clearly illustrates that higher education was not dependent only upon the knowledge of a teacher but also upon special text-books and other educational means of assisting both pupils and teachers.

Besides working on the same subjects Blemmydes spent the next four years studying and practising medicine, which was the profession of his father.<sup>14</sup> His way of life was, however, interrupted when at the age of twenty in the company of other young men he began a period of dissipation which was to last for the next three years. It was at this period that he also fell in love with a noble girl.<sup>15</sup> Despite these preoccupations during these seven years he also spent some time in the court and the camps of the Emperor Theodore I Laskaris in order to become familiar with public affairs. After all, this was also considered as a sort of education and in fact it was from these young men, the *archontopouloi* and *paidopoula*, as they were called, that the Emperors of Nicaea usually chose their future officials.<sup>16</sup>

At the age of twenty-three Blemmydes crossed the border and went to the Latin-controlled area of Skamandros or Troad to study at the feet of a hermit called Prodromos.<sup>17</sup> What little we know about Prodromos derives from Blemmydes himself. Fortunately in a letter to the Emperor Theodore II Blemmydes mentions that his teacher's tutor was the late bishop Kaloethes of Madyta.<sup>18</sup> This piece of information suggests that Prodromos was the student of Constantine Kaloethes who was *oikoumenikos didaskalos* in the Patriarchal School of Constantinople during the patriarchate of John X Kamateros (1198-1206) and who became bishop of Madyta before 1204 and in that capacity signed a synodical document in Nicaea in 1209.<sup>19</sup> Prodromos would have been a young man at the time of the capture of Constantinople in 1204 and may have crossed the Bosphoros as his fellow-student and future priest Leo did. He became a hermit in the area of Skamandros but by 1220 he was already a famous teacher. He taught Blemmydes arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, syllogistic and some physics.<sup>20</sup> This presupposes the existence of a good library which was probably available at Prodromos' hermitage school. Unfortunately, as far as we know, no work belonging to Prodromos has been so far traced which might throw light on his personal-

14. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 3, 1-5. His medical works ed. by A. P. Kousis, 'Les oeuvres médicales de Nicéphore Blemmydes selon les manuscrits existants', *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 19 (1944), 56-75.

15. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, pp. 3, 6-4, 4.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 4, 5-9: *παίδευσιν καὶ ταύτην καλοῦσιν*; Pachymeres, I, p. 24, 5-6 and p. 33, 22-23; see Angold, *Laskarids*, pp. 176-77.

17. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 4, 9-11. For a *phrontistērion* as well as a city called Skamandros see R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins*, Paris, 1975, pp. 212-13.

18. Laskaris, *Letters*, Appendix III, No 23, p. 310, 13-18: 'Ὁ παπᾶς . . . Λέων . . . καὶ δ' ἐμὸς μαῖστωρ Πρόδρομος ἐνὸς ἐγγόνεισαν διδασκάλου τοῦ Καλοῦθου ἐκείνου τοῦ Μαδύτων.

19. See above n. 6.

20. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, pp. 5, 1-6, 4 and p. 55, 10-11.

ity and his intellectual abilities. Most probably Prodrornos preferred the hermitical life and did not appear in the Nicaean scene, if of course he was still alive, when in 1224 the area he lived in came under Nicaean control. It seems that Blemmydes had been very much influenced by his teacher considering his own later attachment to the eremitic life.

This higher course of education seems to have occupied Blemmydes for less than three years, since he spent some time at Nymphaion, where he studied the Holy Scriptures (*ιεραῖς βίβλοις*), and returned to Nicaea at the age of twenty-six when Germanos II was Patriarch.<sup>21</sup>

When Nikephoros Blemmydes had completed his higher studies the new Emperor John Batatzes (1222-1254) ordered the *hypatos tōn philosophōn* Demetrios Karykes—whom he himself had probably appointed supervisor of higher education—to examine *in vivo* the young scholar before a group of other educated people (*λογάδες*) and report on his learning.<sup>22</sup> Blemmydes was satisfied with his examination and claimed victory in the discussion that ensued and which dealt with the topic 'Blessed is he who walks not in the counsel of the ungodly'. The young scholar was even ordered by the Emperor to propose a topic for discussion to the *hypatos tōn philosophōn*.<sup>23</sup> The Emperor was so much impressed that he took Blemmydes into his service. Blemmydes, however, preferred to join the Church. Indeed his old friend, the Patriarch Germanos II, made him reader of the Church and then deacon and logothete.<sup>24</sup>

The fact that the Emperor took an active part in Blemmydes' examination illustrates the keen interest and concern John Batatzes showed in education in general and higher education in particular. In fact we know that he kept in his palace young men of promise who had completed their *enkyklios paideia*, such as George Akropolites, who was sent by his parents from Constantinople to the Emperor in 1233.<sup>25</sup>

But there is a further reason why Batatzes was concerned with education. As has been mentioned above, the lack of educational institutions had deprived the State of its high officials. This compelled the Emperor to introduce new measures to improve education. He sent Akropolites, together with four other young students from Nicaea, to Theodore Hexapterygus for further study in

21. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 6, 7-14 and 25-29. Germanos II was enthroned in January 1223. See M. Nystazopoulou, 'Ο 'Αλανικός τοῦ ἐπισκόπου 'Αλανίας Θεοδώρου καὶ ἡ εἰς τὸν πατριαρχικὸν θρόνον ἀνάρρησις Γερμανοῦ Β', *EEBS* 33 (1964), 270-78; Laurent, *Chronologie*, pp. 136-37.

22. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 55, 14-21.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 55, 21-59, 29; for Blemmydes' question see *ibid.*, p. 57, 9-10 and p. 59, 3-5; cf. Angold, *Laskarids*, p. 179.

24. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 60, 1-5 and p. 7, 12-18. Probably between December 1223 and January 1224 (see *ibid.*, p. XIII).

25. Akropolites, I, p. 46, 12-15.

philosophy in 1234.<sup>26</sup> Before they joined Hexapterygos the Emperor delivered a speech on the occasion in the palace to the selected five pupils and addressing himself personally to Akropolites he said:

'I send these pupils to the school (*τῷ διδασκαλείῳ*) taking them from Nicaea but I send you to be taught with them taking you from my palace; prove that you really come from my house and exert yourself in your lessons. Had you become a soldier you would have received a salary (*σιττηρεσίου*) from me, so much or a little more you will receive (for studying) since you come from a noble family; and if you become master of philosophy you will receive great honours and rewards because only the Emperor and the Philosopher are the most famous of all men.'<sup>27</sup>

According to Akropolites Hexapterygos was not a great scientist but he was very good at rhetoric and his fame derived from it. But Theodore Hexapterygos died before he had time to teach these pupils subjects other than poetry and rhetoric.<sup>28</sup> Though Akropolites gives no more information concerning his tutor we can deduce certain details of Hexapterygos' earlier studies in Constantinople from his surviving works which have been preserved in a thirteenth-century manuscript (codex Vind. Phil. Gr. 254). They include six tales (*διηγήματα*) (ff. 120<sup>r</sup>-125<sup>r</sup>) and a funeral oration on a certain Stephanos, a relative of his (ff. 125<sup>v</sup>-129<sup>v</sup> and 132<sup>r</sup>-134<sup>v</sup>).<sup>29</sup> From a brief study of this oration it becomes

26. Akropolites, I, p. 49, 6-10 and 22-23.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 49, 10-21; cf. Papadopoulos, *Theodore II*, p. 15; Angold, *Laskarids*, p. 180.

28. Akropolites, I, pp. 49, 24-50, 3. Heisenberg suggests 1237 as the year of Hexapterygos' death; see *ibid.*, II, p. VI. The name Hexapterygos goes back to the tenth century. A certain John Hexapterygos was a follower of St. Athanasios Athonites, founder of Lavra. See P. Lemerle, *et al.*, *Actes de Lavra, Première partie, Des origines à 1204 (Archives de l'Athos, V)*, Paris, 1970, p. 30. The Hexapterygos' family seems to have been famous in the thirteenth century as we can assume from a poetical subscription in cod. Gr. Bon. Univ. 3643 (f. 244<sup>v</sup>) copied by the monk Nikephoros Hexapterygos:

εὐαγγελικῆς ὡδὶ σὺν Θεῷ τέλος: προπαρασκευῆς  
μέμνησο τοῖν τε ταῖν χερσὶν ὅστις φέροις:  
ῥακενδουτύντος γραφέως Νικηφόρου:  
'Εξαπτερύγων ἐκ γένους κατηγμένον:  
σῶσαι Θεὸς λέγων περ' αὐτῶν ἐν κρίσει:

The same scribe wrote another thirteenth century manuscript: cod. Gr. Bon. Univ. 3644. See Chr. Samberger, *Catalogi Codicum Graecorum qui in minoribus bibliothecis Italicis asservantur*, vol. I, Leipzig, 1966, p. 465; Vogel-Gardthausen, *Schreiber*, p. 339. In the early fourteenth century one Kalos Hexapterygos and a Manuel Hexapterygos appear in a document of 21 January 1309. See L. Petit and B. Korabiev, *Actes de Chilandar (Actes de l'Athos, I)*, *VV* 17 (1911), 53, 11 and 54, 29-30.

29. Hunger, *Katalog*, pp. 364-65. Hexapterygos' seal has also survived though it is still unpublished in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection: Acquisition No 58.106.4608. The dodecasyllabic legend on this seal reads:

+ 'Εξαπτερύγου σφράγισμα Θεοδώρου.

See R. Macrides, *A Translation and Historical Commentary of George Akropolites' History*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 1978, p. 288.

apparent that Theodore Hexapterygos attended the Patriarchal School in Constantinople before 1204, most probably at the school of the Forty Martyrs, where he seems to have studied grammar, *schedographia*, poetry and rhetoric probably under George Tornikes and Constantine Stilbes.<sup>30</sup> Whether he continued his studies beyond rhetoric is not known. The fact that he taught George Akropolites and his fellow-students only poetry and rhetoric is perhaps an indication that this was unlikely.

It is possible that this manuscript, though probably not Hexapterygos' personal volume, was copied in the Nicaean Empire and was used for the teaching of grammar and rhetoric.<sup>31</sup> The *διηγήματα* represent Hexapterygos' own examples on the *progymnasmata* of Aphthonios and Hermogenes and they were most probably composed for his teaching of rhetoric. Their content demonstrates that he had mastered his subject and was familiar with ancient Greek mythology.<sup>32</sup>

After Hexapterygos' death the whole group of the five students was transferred to Ephesos to the monastery of St. Gregory the Wonderworker to study under the supervision of Nikephoros Blemmydes, who was by that time the most famous philosopher.<sup>33</sup> Though this seems to have been his first public appointment there is evidence to suggest that Blemmydes acted as a teacher at about 1226, in his capacity as logothete of the Great Church and probably under the aegis of the Patriarch Germanos II.<sup>34</sup>

30. For the same Stephanos who was also called Hexapterygos his teacher Constantine Stilbes wrote a funerary poem ed. by J. Diethart, *Der Rhetor und Didaskalos Konstantinos Stilbes*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Vienna, 1971, pp. 88-90. I am indebted to Miss S. Psalidakou for allowing me to consult her photo-copy of this thesis. Cf. Krumbacher, *GBL*,<sup>2</sup> p. 762; Browning, *School*, pp. 27-28, 27, n. 2. On the school of the Forty Martyrs in Constantinople see G. Schiro, 'La schedografia a Bizancio nei secoli XI-XII e la scuola dei SS. XL Martiri', *Bollettino della Badia di Grottaferrata* 3 (1949), 11-29; Browning, *School*, pp. 173-74; *idem.*, cod. Marc. Gr. XI. 31, pp. 21-34. See also cod. Vind. Phil. Gr. 254, f. 129<sup>r</sup>. For the probable studies of Stephanos and Theodore Hexapterygos under George Tornikes see *ibid.*, f. 133<sup>v</sup>.

31. Chronologically Hexapterygos is the latest author included in this manuscript which contains grammatical and rhetorical works. However, some empty spaces in the text suggest that the scribe may not have understood the original text.

32. Though no titles are given these tales deal respectively with the following subjects: a) Jason and Medea (ff. 120<sup>r</sup>-121<sup>r</sup>); b) The migration of the Cretans predicted by Apollo (ff. 121<sup>r</sup>-<sup>v</sup>); c) Arion the musician from Methymna (ff. 121<sup>v</sup>-122<sup>v</sup>); d) Laius and Oedipus (ff. 122<sup>v</sup>-123<sup>v</sup>); e) The birth of Dionysus (ff. 123<sup>v</sup>-124<sup>v</sup>); f) The fable of the eagle and the fox (ff. 124<sup>v</sup>-125<sup>r</sup>).

33. Akropolites, I, p. 50, 3-6; Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 29, 7-13; Markopoulos, *Encomium*, p. 115, 135-139. We know by name three of five students: Akropolites, Krateros, Romanos. The other two may well have been: the judge of Thrakesion Sergios (see L. G. Westerink, 'Some Unpublished Letters of Blemmydes', *BS* 12 (1951), No 8, p. 51, 19-20: τοσούτον δέ σοι ἐντέλλομαι—δεῖ γὰρ διδάσκαλον ἐντέλλεσθαι μαθητῇ) and Hagiotheodorites, the secretary of Theodore II, (see Laskaris, *Letters*, No 27, p. 37, 17-20 and 20-22: τὸν φιλητὸν Ἀγιοθεοδωρίτην . . . δέδεξο τοῦτον ὁ ὑπηλός, ἐκ σοῦ μὲν ὄντα, σὸν δὲ ὄντα διὰ τοῦ σοῦ, καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἔλον σόν.

34. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 16, 12-16: καὶ μαθητιῶσι καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον οἰκητήριον . . . μουσεῖον τίθενται, καὶ τοῖς ζητοῦσιν ὁ λόγος ἔτοιμος εἰς ἀκρόασιν.

The whole course under both teachers occupied a period of five years and Nikephoros' teaching apart from philosophy included certainly theology and astronomy.<sup>35</sup> But it seems that the whole attempt was interrupted when two of Blemmydes' pupils, Krateros and Romanos, accused him of malversation of money belonging to the former metropolitan of Ephesos, Constantine Manasses. Furthermore he was accused before the Emperor and the Church on matters related to Orthodox dogma.<sup>36</sup> Although Blemmydes was cleared of these charges by the imperial and by the ecclesiastical courts, he refused from then on to accept any other pupils sent to him by the Emperor.<sup>37</sup>

It is possible that Batatzes' initiative in supporting financially private teachers of great reputation as well as promising students<sup>38</sup> was taken after the bitter experience at the beginning of 1234, when the *hypatos tōn philosophōn* Demetrios Karykes failed to uphold successfully the Orthodox dogma against the arguments of the papal legates.<sup>39</sup> He was certainly replaced by Blemmydes in the discussions with the legates and may well have lost his position as supervisor of higher education. Overshadowed by the younger generation he disappears from history.<sup>40</sup>

John Batatzes did not limit his interest to producing scholars capable of defending Orthodoxy. He also tried to promote education in general by founding libraries in the towns where 'books on all subjects and sciences' were collected.<sup>41</sup> He was also concerned with books for purposes of higher education and asked Blemmydes to write his *Epitomē Logikēs* or manual on logic, probably for his five students.<sup>42</sup>

35. Akropolites, I, p. 63, 5-6; p. 106, 9-13; for the teaching of astronomy see *ibid.*, p. 63, 3-12 and for theology *ibid.*, II, p. 71, 1-8.

36. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 29, 26-29 and p. 31, 22-26: ἀλλὰ καὶ πράξεις δόγμασιν ὀρθοῖς ἀπαρδούσας ἡμῖν περιτίθῃσι; see also *ibid.*, p. 100. fn.; Laskaris, *Letters*, Appendix III, No 33, p. 328, 93; cf. Angold, *Laskarids*, p. 179.

37. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 30, 7-10 and pp. 31, 26-32, 4. Perhaps to commemorate his victory Blemmydes wrote a political poem addressed to the Emperor Batatzes (*ibid.*, pp. 100-109); see also Laskaris, *Letters*, Appendix III, No 33, p. 328, 93-95.

38. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 29, 10-11: ἐδίδου δὲ καὶ σίτον, ἐδίδου καὶ χρυσίον, ἐτήσια καὶ ἀμφο; see also Akropolites, I, p. 49, 16-19; *ibid.*, II, p. 19, 29-32: ἐξ ἐκείνου γὰρ τοὺς λόγους εἰλήφειμεν καὶ ὅπερ νῦν ἔσμεν ἐγεγόνειμεν, βασιλεῖ ἀνατεθραμμένοι καὶ προστάγμασιν ἐκείνου καὶ ἀναλώμασι πεπαιδευμένοι τὰ λογικά.

39. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 64, 7-9; cf. S. N. Lagopates, *Γερμανὸς ὁ Β', Πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως-Νικαίας, 1222-1240*, Tripolis, 1913, pp. 114-21. A theological tract of Blemmydes about the procession of the Holy Spirit written for Batatzes may well have been composed after this incident or after the discussions with the Catholic Church in 1250. See PG 142, col. 604: 'Ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Νικηφόρος ὁ Βλεμμίδης παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δούκα περὶ τῆς ἐκπορεύσεως τοῦ παναγίου Πνεύματος ἐρωτηθεὶς, εἰ καλῶς φρονοῦσι Λατίνοι ἢ οὐ; cf. Angold, *Laskarids*, pp. 14-16.

40. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 64, 16-25.

41. Skoutariotes, p. 507, 19-20; (*Addimenta*, p. 286, 13-14).

42. PG 142, cols. 688-689A: μικροὺς τινὰς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ λογικῇ λιπεῖν ἡμετέρους ὑπομνηματισμούς, οὓς αἰτησάμεν βασιλεῖ, νέοι ἔτι ὄντες καὶ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν εἰσαγωγικοί καὶ ἀνεπιστήμονες . . . ἐκδεδωκάμεν.

There must have been a link between the efforts of Batatzes to provide schools and public libraries with all the necessary books and the great investigatory tour made by Blemmydes in 1239 when he visited the western parts controlled by the rival Epirote State (*πρὸς τὰ δυτικώτερα*).<sup>43</sup> Speaking about his investigations Blemmydes says that on Mt. Athos (where he stayed for a year) Thessalonike and Larissa he found many rare books whose titles were unknown even to his contemporaries.<sup>44</sup>

From this statement of Blemmydes, we can assume that one of the main reasons for the poor state of higher education in Nicaea was not only the lack of the well established higher institutions of Constantinople, but also the short supply and the lack of special scientific books for that purpose. To find books and improve his education Blemmydes himself went to several places, such as Lesbos after 1227;<sup>45</sup> Rhodes in the autumn of 1233, where he stayed in the monastery of the mount Artamytes;<sup>46</sup> Samos in or after 1238;<sup>47</sup> and finally to Mt. Athos, Thessalonike and Larissa in 1239.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand the places visited by Blemmydes in search of books suggest that he must have improved his theological rather than his scientific learning.

Batatzes was not alone in his efforts to foster learning. The Empress Eirene shared her husband's intellectual interest and was also a protector of scholars.<sup>49</sup> George Akropolites reports a discussion which took place in the imperial camp after an eclipse of the sun in 1239.<sup>50</sup> Akropolites who had recently studied philosophy under Blemmydes gave the correct explanation that the eclipse was caused by the intervention of the moon between the sun and the earth. The imperial *aktouarios* Nikolaos (Myrepsos?), who was trained only in practical medicine and

43. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 33, 25-27; pp. 36, 3-37, 7; p. 72, 8-16; cf. *ibid.*, p. XVIII.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 36, 19-24.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 21, 18-19: *καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐς Λέσβον ἀναδιήσεως εἵνεκα τόπων ἡσυχίας ἀπαίρομεν*. On Blemmydes' visits to libraries we follow the dates established by Heisenberg (*ibid.*, pp. XIV-XVIII).

46. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, pp. 61-62. Some fifty years before the abbot of this monastery of Artamytes was the known scribe Neilos who wrote and presented two books to the monastery of St. John in Patmos in 1180 (codices Patm. 175 and 743). See A. Komines, *Πίνακες Χρονολογημένων Πατριαρχικῶν Κωδίκων*, Athens, 1968, pp. 11-12; cf. Wilson, *Libraries*, p. 70. Another manuscript written by Neilos a year later has survived in Rhodes. See Metropolitan of Rhodes Spyridon, 'Κῶδιξ 'Απολλώνων', (*Εὐχαριστήριον, τιμητικὸς τόμος Α. Σ. 'Αλιβιζάτου*), Athens, 1958, pp. 439-48; Vogel-Gardthausen, *Schreiber*, p. 327.

47. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 33, 16: *ἐπὶ τὸ Πυθαγόρου σπήλαιον πρὸς Σάμον ἀπαίρομεν*.

48. See above n. 43. His visit to Larissa raises many questions since no great library is known to have existed there; cf. Wilson, *Libraries*, p. 78.

49. Akropolites, I, p. 62, 21-23: *ἔχαιρε δὲ καὶ λόγοις καὶ σοφῶν ἡμεροῦ μετὰ ἡδονῆς ἐτίμα δὲ τοὺς ὑπερβαλλόντως*. See also *ibid.*, pp. 63, 26-64, 1: *αὕτη ἐφίλει τοὺς λόγους καὶ τοὺς εἰδότας τοὺς ἐτίμα*.

50. Akropolites, I, p. 63, 22; *ibid.*, II, p. IV, n. 2 and p. VII.

not in philosophy, argued against this opinion and even the Empress herself sided with Nikolaos.<sup>51</sup> The debate is clear evidence of the intellectual discussions which took place in the palace during the period of exile.

Although the first experiment in employing private teachers, at least in the case of Blemmydes, did not prove entirely successful the Emperor seems to have remained undaunted by his failure. In fact there are reasons for believing that he took new measures concerning higher education thus enabling its continuation in Asia Minor.

Blemmydes, who always held a great reputation as a man of wide learning, became tutor in philosophy to the heir to the throne, Theodore II Laskaris, in 1240.<sup>52</sup> A few years later new plans were brought forward for the establishment of a higher institution for secular learning in Nicaea, and Blemmydes was invited to become its head. This offer emanating from the Emperor Batatzes was acceptable to the Patriarch Manuel II (1243-1254) who even went as far as to threaten Blemmydes with excommunication if he refused to accept the post.<sup>53</sup> The Patriarch invited him to Nicaea through an emissary without telling him the purpose of this invitation. In the meantime Blemmydes learned the reason for his recall probably from his pupil Theodore II who sent him two letters on the subject.<sup>54</sup> His refusal came in a long letter addressed to the Patriarch where he described all his bitter experience as a teacher in the service of the Emperor.<sup>55</sup> He insisted that this post was suitable not for monks but for secular scholars and hoped that under their supervision many students would flourish in a short time.<sup>56</sup>

Despite this negative answer to the Patriarch, Theodore II wrote a third letter to Blemmydes on the same question.<sup>57</sup> This letter is more helpful for the dating of the events. It was probably written at the very end of the year 1246 or the beginning of 1247 when John Batatzes and his *logothetēs tou genikou*, George Akropolites, returned to Asia Minor after a long absence in Europe, an event

51. Akropolites, I, p. 63, 5-6 and 13-18. Though Akropolites knew the explanation of the eclipse he finally conceded that the phenomenon had predicted the death of the Empress for whom he wrote a funerary poem; *ibid.*, p. 64, 1-5. The poem ed. *ibid.*, II, pp. 3-6. For a more recent edition see W. Hörandner, 'Prodromos-Reminiszenzen bei Dichten der nikänischen Zeit', *BF* 4 (1972), 89-93; cf. Pingree, Chioniades, p. 136.

52. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 39, 10-16; Akropolites, I, p. 106, 15-16; Skoutariotes, p. 509, 29-31 (*Additamenta*, p. 288, 13-14).

53. Laskaris, *Letters*, Appendix III, No 33, p. 325, 6-7. For the dating of Manuel's patriarchate see Laurent, *Chronologie*, pp. 138-39.

54. Laskaris, *Letters*, Appendix III, No 33, p. 325, 5-6; *ibid.*, No 21, p. 27 and No 22, p. 28.

55. *Ibid.*, Appendix III, No 33, pp. 325-29, esp. p. 328, 90-95; see also Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, pp. 34-35.

56. Laskaris, *Letters*, Appendix III, No 33, p. 326, 48-50 and p. 329, 125-128.

57. *Ibid.*, No 26, pp. 35-36, esp. p. 36, 15-17.



which is mentioned by Theodore in his letter.<sup>58</sup> If so the initiative for establishing a higher school for secular learning with Blemmydes as its head was taken at the end of 1245 or the beginning of 1246. It was at this time, too, that the Patriarch's invitation was sent to Blemmydes and Theodore II's two letters were written to him.<sup>59</sup>

One may wonder why Blemmydes turned down such an important post in the sphere of education and by his action excluded himself from any future educational establishments run by the government. For as far as we know he was never again asked to administer a public school of higher education. Certainly when he sent in his refusal to the Patriarch he had no intention of giving up teaching. In fact his own school was completed shortly after and there he continued to teach until his death *ca.* 1272. His refusal undoubtedly must be seen as another sign of his disappointment with the society in which he lived. For the same reason he seems to have refused the highest ecclesiastical honour, the patriarchal throne, offered to him by his former pupil Theodore II in 1255.<sup>60</sup> But although he condemned himself to isolationism when he realised that he was unable to reform society according to his ideals, he did not remain silent in the face of actions he considered wrong. He voiced his criticisms of that society when, for example, he opposed the excommunication of the people of the Epirote State placed on them by the Patriarch Arsenios and his bishops simply for political reasons.<sup>61</sup>

Blemmydes' refusal brought forward other persons and different schemes for higher education. A small collection of eleven letters published some forty years ago by Père Laurent and dated at about 1250 helps to support the existence of a higher school. Eight letters of this collection were written by a teacher of logic and rhetoric called George Babouskomites and the three others were addressed to him (Nos 1, 3, 7) by three friends.<sup>62</sup>

Babouskomites is an otherwise unknown person who is not mentioned in the sources of the period. Not even the publication of his letters gives enough information about him. His addressees were all but one scholars of his period.

58. Laskaris, *Letters*, No 26, p. 35, 1-3 and p. 36, 9-10: *Εὐρομεν δὲ καὶ τὸν πάνσοφον Ἀκροπολίτην* . . . *ἔκ τε τῆς τόσσης ἀποδημίας*. Such a long absence is placed by Akropolites in the second half of 1246 during which Batatzes recovered a great part of Macedonia including Thessalonike. At that time Theodore was left as viceroy in Asia Minor. See Akropolites, I, pp. 72-85; *ibid.*, p. 71, 20.

59. Laskaris, *Letters*, No 21, p. 27, 3 and No 22, p. 28, 5-7; Laurent (*Regestes*, No 1305, p. 112) placed this event in 1244 assuming that Blemmydes was offered the post as a compensation for the loss of the patriarchal throne in favour of Manuel II.

60. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, pp. 41-45.

61. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

62. Laurent, Babouskomites, pp. 83-100, text 91-99; for the dating see p. 86. On the name Babouskomites see *ibid.*, pp. 88-89 and notes.

Three of them were imperial secretaries: Michael Theophilopoulos,<sup>63</sup> John Makrotos,<sup>64</sup> and Nikolaos Kostomyres;<sup>65</sup> one became patriarch, John Bekkos,<sup>66</sup> and the fifth was an educated man called Libdikēs.<sup>67</sup>

Babouskomites was the teacher of John Bekkos,<sup>68</sup> who was at that time a young man who travelled about in search either of higher education or of a patron who might help him with a career.<sup>69</sup> Bekkos was born *ca.* 1230 and since he wished to improve his knowledge in logic and philosophy we can assume that he had already completed his *enkyklios paideia*.<sup>70</sup> He had previously been a pupil of Babouskomites but he wanted to return to him to continue his studies, probably disappointed by his search for a career or a better tutor.<sup>71</sup>

George Babouskomites was not the only teacher in his school. His colleagues, as he says, were more educated than himself.<sup>72</sup> Both disciplines secular (*θύραθεν παιδευσίς*) and ecclesiastical (*ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς*) were taught in that school thus equipping young men with the necessary qualifications to pursue either profession.<sup>73</sup> This is clear from Babouskomites' letter to the young Bekkos in which he insists that after he has finished his schooling he will be able to follow a state or ecclesiastical career.<sup>74</sup> We know that the location of the school was not in Nicaea where Bekkos lived because Babouskomites was far away from all his addressees.<sup>75</sup> But though the school was away from Nicaea it was probably equipped with a good library, for Babouskomites was asked to send a volume of Aristotle to his well educated friend Makrotos, the imperial secretary.<sup>76</sup>

Bearing in mind the earlier example of the school of Blemmydes in Ephesos, which was state financed, we can safely assume that the scheme was still in operation and that the school of Babouskomites was also financially supported by

63. On the name Theophilopoulos see Laurent, Babouskomites, pp. 89-90 and references.

64. On the name Makrotos see *ibid.*, p. 91.

65. On the name Kostomyres see *ibid.*, p. 90 and references; see also Ahrweiler, Smyrne, p. 159. In the *typikon* of the monastery of *Pantokrator* in Constantinople a small area called *tou Kostomyre* was granted by the founder. See A. Dmitrievskij, *Τυπικά*, I, Kiev, 1895, p. 697.

66. On John Bekkos see *DTC* 8, 1 (1924), 656-60 by L. Petit; J. Gill, 'John Beccus, Patriarch of Constantinople', *Byz.* 7 (1975), 251-66; A. Zotos, *Ἰωάννης ὁ Βέκκος Πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Νέας Ῥώμης ὁ Λατινόφωνος*, Munich, 1920; Trapp, *Lexikon*, II, No 2548, pp. 51-52.

67. On the name Lybdikēs see Laurent, Babouskomites, p. 90.

68. *Ibid.*, No 5, p. 93, 4: *τὴν ἐξ ἐμοῦ κατὰ λόγον σὴν ἀναγωγὴν καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν.*

69. *Ibid.*, No 5, p. 93, 11: *ὑφεῖς οὖν τὸ πλανᾶσθαι τόπον ἐκ τόπου.*

70. *Ibid.*, No 5, p. 93, 9-10 and 16-17: *μήπω τῆς λογικῆς ἐμφορηθέντα παιδεύσεως.*

71. *Ibid.*, No 5, p. 93, 9: *πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπαναδρόμης καθάπερ ἐγραψας.*

72. *Ibid.*, No 5, p. 93, 12-13: *καὶ τῶν οἷς σοφίας μέτεστι πλείονος.*

73. *Ibid.*, No 5, p. 93, 22-23: *ἐμπλησθείης παιδείσεως, οὐ μόνον τῆς θύραθεν ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς.*

74. *Ibid.*, No 5, p. 93, 13-15.

75. Pachymeres, I, pp. 225-27, esp. p. 227, 15-16 and p. 494, 5-8; Laurent, Babouskomites, No 4, p. 92, 10; No 5, p. 93, 9; No 7, p. 95, 6; No 11, p. 99, 8.

76. Laurent, Babouskomites, No 4, p. 93, 12; Akropolites, I, p. 91, 4-5; cf. Angold, *Iaskarids*, pp. 163-64.

the government. The fact that three of Babouskomites' friends belonged to the imperial service strongly suggests imperial connections. It is very possible that the school came under imperial patronage after Blemmydes' refusal in 1246, and formed part of the Emperor's plan which aimed at creating an institution which would provide the State and the Church with educated officials.

It was perhaps inevitable that a man like Batatzes who had shown such great concern about education of his subjects should entrust his son's education to the best scholars of the day. At the age of eighteen—we may suppose after he had completed his education of *grammatistēs* or *hiera grammata* and that of *grammatikos* or *enkyklios paideia*—Theodore II, as we have mentioned above, became a pupil of Nikephoros Blemmydes.<sup>77</sup>

We do not know exactly how long this course took. But apart from other lessons it included certainly rhetoric, philosophy and theology.<sup>78</sup> Nonetheless the course was not continuous since the correspondence of the two men shows them at that period living in different places. Probably Blemmydes had to visit the monastery of St. Gregory the Wonderworker, which was given to him in *pronoia* about 1238,<sup>79</sup> or to supervise the building of his hermitage (*ἡσυχαστήριον*) in Emathia, which was completed in seven years and nine months.<sup>80</sup> On the other hand Theodore II was usually left as regent in Asia Minor while his father was campaigning in Europe and during these periods he was dealing with affairs of the state rather than with the pursuit of his education.<sup>81</sup> But even during the absence of the teacher or the pupil the teaching continued by correspondence with Blemmydes advising or correcting the work which Theodore had prepared and which included discussions in various fields of learning.<sup>82</sup>

The course was probably completed or interrupted in 1246.<sup>83</sup> The gap left by Blemmydes was soon to be filled by George Akropolites. For in that year

77. See above n. 52. The teaching most probably took place in Nicaea (see Laskaris, *Letters*, No 3, p. 7, 25-26: *ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς Νικαίων ἐν εὐθυμίᾳ διὰ πολλῇ ἀπέστημεν*), and though the Emperor regarded this post as an *oikonomia* Blemmydes disliked it. See Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 39, 14-16: *ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ταύτην τὴν οἰκονομίαν, ὡς ἔλεγεν ἐκεῖνος, οὐ προσηκάμεθα τὸ μὲν ὡς καινοτομίαν, τὸ δὲ καὶ ὡς θορύβων ἡμῖν εἰκαίων παρεκτικὴν*.

78. Laskaris, *Letters*, No 8, pp. 11, 20-12, 21: *δίδαξον εἰς φιλοσοφίαν, ἀναξον εἰς θεολογίαν, ἢ διὰ τῶν μαθημάτων περαιώσον ἐν τοῖς ἐκατέροις τὸν ἐμὸν νοῦν*. See also below n. 82.

79. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 33, 13-15; Laskaris, *Letters*, No 107, p. 147, 19-30; cf. Dölger, *Regesten*, Nos 1760a and 1761.

80. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 74, 3-4; Heisenberg proposed the years 1241-48, *ibid.*, p. XX. Theodore II helped Blemmydes financially and in other ways, probably with the building of his hermitage. See *ibid.*, p. 38, 7-10; Laskaris, *Letters*, No. 8, p. 12, 28-34; No 9, p. 13, 1; No 25, p. 35, 32-34; No 107, p. 147, 19-27.

81. Akropolites mentions two such cases one in 1242 (I, p. 67, 3-10) and the other in 1246 (*ibid.*, p. 71, 20); see also Laskaris, *Letters*, No 26, p. 35, 1-3 for the latter. Theodore mentions a third case *ibid.*, No 19, p. 25, 5-10, probably in 1244 or 1245.

82. Laskaris, *Letters*, No 6, p. 10, 42-43; No 7, p. 10, 6-7.

83. Cf. Markopoulos, *Encomium*, pp. 106-107.

probably in December 1246 or early 1247 Theodore II met Akropolites in the retinue of his father when he went to the Hellespont to welcome him back from his victorious campaigns. There the young prince had a remarkable philosophical discussion with Akropolites.<sup>84</sup> It is very possible that Theodore's study under him dates from that meeting. For although Theodore asked Blemmydes once again to serve the Emperor Batatzes in his capacity of teacher, Blemmydes refused, preferring to devote himself to his own school near Ephesos which was about to be completed.<sup>85</sup> So most probably Blemmydes' teaching came to an end in 1246 and George Akropolites took over Theodore II's training in 1247.

Theodore II's letters to the 'philosopher' Akropolites together with his encomium on him shed some light on the method of teaching, the subjects pursued and the abilities of both teacher and pupil. The course of study was long<sup>86</sup> and it was attended by other students, probably Theodore II's secretaries or a small intellectual circle which had gathered around him.<sup>87</sup> The teaching was usually interrupted by the official duties of Akropolites who, as *logothetēs tou genikou*, was often with the Emperor Batatzes in the European provinces or elsewhere. The course was however kept alive, as in the case of Blemmydes, by correspondence and was helped by a good library available to Theodore.<sup>88</sup>

Theodore II was already well equipped in philosophy thanks to his training under Nikephoros Blemmydes who had also been the mentor of his new tutor. And, although they went through the whole curriculum of philosophy,<sup>89</sup> one can assume that the new course was supplementary and more specialized in those fields in which Akropolites excelled, namely, rhetoric and mathematics. This is evident from the numerous essays in rhetoric Theodore sent to Akropolites for correction and comment.<sup>90</sup> On the other hand Theodore plied his tutor with mathematical questions and praised him for his wide and thorough knowledge

84. Laskaris, *Letters*, No 26, p. 35, 1-3 and p. 36, 9-14; see also Akropolites, I, p. 83, 17. At that time Akropolites who accompanied the Emperor to Europe was responsible for writing imperial letters to inform the citizens of the reconquered towns and districts; see *ibid.*, p. 79, 1-7.

85. Laskaris, *Letters*, No 26, p. 36, 15-17.

86. Markopoulos, Encomium, p. 115, 160-161: *Καιρὸς δὲ προέβη καὶ ὁ διδύσκαλος μὲν ἐδίδασκε, ἐγὼ δὲ ἡκρωώμην τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ φωνῆς ὥσπερ θεοῦ; ibid.*, p. 116, 176-177: *Διήλθομεν οὖν οὐκ ἐν ἀκαριαίῳ καιρῷ τὰ μαθήματα ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ κόπῳ.*

87. Laskaris, *Letters*, No 53, p. 78, 24; No 63, p. 93, 17-19: *ὅθεν καὶ ἐνὶ ὧν τῶν σοὶ ποθουμένων φοιτητῶν ἐγχαράττων σοὶ τὴν ἐπιστολήν, οὐκ ἄλλο δοξάζω τι, ἢ ὅτι καὶ σὺ μεθ' ἡμῶν ὑπάρχεις; see also ibid.*, No 51, p. 75, 89-91; Markopoulos, Encomium, p. 117, 186.

88. Laskaris, *Letters*, No 69, p. 96, 1-7.

89. Markopoulos, Encomium, p. 116, 163-164: *πᾶσαν οὖν ἐμὲ φιλοσοφίαν ἐδίδασκε.*

90. Laskaris, *Letters*, No 51, p. 74, 72-73: *διὰ ταῦτα πάντα τὸ νῦν δῶρον λογικόν σοι ἀποπέπομφα* and p. 75, 88: *ἐπεὶ τῆς ὑμνουμένης ἐξ ἡμῶν Νικαέων ἀπέστη πόλεως* (he sent to Akropolites his encomium for Nicaea); see also *ibid.*, No 56, p. 84, 1-3; No 68, p. 96, 1-3; No 76, p. 103, 4-7. In another letter Theodore admitted that Akropolites taught him rhetoric; see No 74, p. 101, 10-13: *οἶδας πῶς δεδίδαχας ἡμᾶς ὑφαίνειν τὸν λόγον; ναὶ ναί· καὶ λίαν δεδίδαχας καὶ διδάξεις, καὶ ἐξ αἰ τὴν ὥραιότατην ἀντιστροφήν ἐκπαιδεύσεις. ὦ πλούτου σοφίας.*

in that subject.<sup>91</sup> The course seems to have been completed by 1252. In that year Akropolites wrote the introduction to the edition of his pupil's letters and Theodore returned the compliment by writing an encomium on his teacher.<sup>92</sup> Both these works should be treated as an indication that the course had successfully come to an end in that year.

As a result of this long training in higher studies Theodore II obtained a wide education which covered various fields of learning and included geometry, music, astronomy, logic, physics and every field of philosophy which, as he says, he was able to revise according to his will.<sup>93</sup>

With such a scholar Emperor on the throne the Empire of Nicaea was never in a better position for the flourishing of letters. Though his reign was short and he spent most of his time campaigning in Europe he found time to rebuild the church of St. Tryphon in Nicaea and there he established state schools for the teaching of grammar and rhetoric. In both these establishments teachers and pupils received salaries from the imperial treasury.<sup>94</sup>

Most of the information concerning the schools of St. Tryphon derives from a letter Theodore II sent to the teachers Andronikos Phrangopoulos and Michael Senachereim of whom the first taught grammar and the second poetry and rhetoric.<sup>95</sup> It is for his teaching of poetry that Senachereim prepared his commentary on Homer.<sup>96</sup> It is clear that the Emperor closely followed the progress of the schools and the pupils and had six students sent to him in order to have a first hand experience of their progress. Five of them studied grammar or *enkyklios paideia*, the sixth poetry which was considered the preliminary step for rhetoric.<sup>97</sup> The Emperor was very pleased with their progress and sent them back to school for advanced study.<sup>98</sup>

These schools were well equipped for both teachers and students and their

91. Laskaris, *Letters*, No 66, p. 95, 5-8, 12 and 14-15: *σὺ γοῦν ὁ μέγας εἰς τὰ μαθηματικά ἀξιώματα λῦσον αὐτά*; Markopoulos, *Encomium*, p. 117, 209-211; see also Lameere, *Tradition*, p. 185, 15-17.

92. Markopoulos, *Encomium*, p. 107; p. 112, 6; p. 117, 204, 214. The introductory poem ed. in Akropolites, II, pp. 7-9.

93. Laskaris, *Letters*, No 105, pp. 143, 5-144, 31 (to Nikephoros of Ephesos); see No 109, pp. 152, 64-153, 83 about his astronomical learning; about his geometrical learning see No 83, p. 110, 1-3 and No 115, p. 160, 19 ff.; about his learning in physics see No 83, p. 110, 13-17.

94. Skoutariotes, p. 512, 3-8 (*Additamenta*, p. 291, 6-11).

95. Laskaris, *Letters*, No. 217, p. 271, title.

96. Cf. Amadeus Peyron, *Notitia librorum qui donante Ab. Thoma Valperga-Calusio u. cl. illati sunt in regi Taurinensis Athenaei bibliothecam*, Leipzig, 1820, p. 23; Krumbacher, *GBL*,<sup>2</sup> p. 541; R. Browning, 'Homer in Byzantium', *Viator* 6 (Los Angeles, 1975), 29; Angold, *Laskarids*, p. 180.

97. Laskaris, *Letters*, No 217, p. 274, 92-102; Akropolites, I, p. 46, 13-15; Lameere, *Tradition*, p. 179, 2-3; cf. Angold, *Laskarids*, pp. 179-80.

98. Laskaris, *Letters*, No 217, p. 271, 5-6 (title) and p. 276, 151-152.

future existence was secured by the *typikon* of the church of St. Tryphon drawn up by the Emperor himself.<sup>99</sup> These two schools of St. Tryphon together with that of *hiera grammata* where Hyakinthos (a monk from Epiros and subsequently leader of the Arsenite faction) taught represented at the time the three stages of education in Nicaea.<sup>100</sup>

Theodore II's interest in learning extended outside Nicaea itself. Theodore Skoutariotes, who knew the Emperor well,<sup>101</sup> gives a detailed account of his efforts in the sphere of education and their results in the whole Empire. He was an assiduous collector of books on arts and sciences, and founded in various towns libraries which were open to the public. This facilitated the revival of learning which had nearly disappeared after 1204. During his reign, says Skoutariotes, learning flourished to such an extent that schools and groups of scholars were to be found in every town and district and in every public place educated people discussed 'scientific' problems.<sup>102</sup>

Although Skoutariotes attributes the flourishing of learning to Theodore II's reign it becomes clear from the evidence mentioned above that the beginning of this trend goes back to the reign of Batatzes and that Theodore's efforts are the last stage in this long process. In fact Theodore II, who inherited the intellectual interests of his parents, was involved in educational affairs and influenced learning only after 1240 when he became a student of the greatest scholar of the time, Nikephoros Blemmydes. Inspired by the strict and culturally Hellenic spirit of his teacher he was prepared to become, and always claimed to be, the Philosopher Emperor.<sup>103</sup> In contrast to his teacher's isolationism Theodore II wanted to share his intellectual interest with others. He corresponded with the most educated people of his time exchanging views and ideas on a number of subjects such as mathematics, theology, astronomy, etc.

His classical education and his admiration for the ancient world certainly influenced his outlook and he regarded himself and his people as descendants of the ancient *Hellenes*.<sup>104</sup> He referred to Asia Minor or Greece as *Hellenikon* and

99. Laskaris, *Letters*, No 217, p. 276, 153-155. Theodore II's encomium for St. Tryphon ed. in *Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, IV, Brussels, 1925, pp. 352-57.

100. Pachymeres, I, pp. 292-96, esp. p. 294, 8-12; *ibid.*, II, p. 38; p. 59; p. 64; p. 83; pp. 134-35; pp. 137-38; p. 207; p. 353.

101. Skoutariotes, p. 536, 12 (Additamenta, p. 298, 10).

102. Skoutariotes, pp. 535, 26-536, 5 (Additamenta, pp. 297, 18-298, 4).

103. Speaking about Skamandros in 1220 Blemmydes says that it did not belong to the Greeks at that time; (see his *Curriculum*, p. 4, 16-18: οὐ γὰρ ὑπὸ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῷ τότε σκῆπτρα ἢ Σκάμανδρος). On the other hand he describes the Latins as *Romaioi* and the Pope as president of the *Romaioi*; (*ibid.*, p. 40, 27-28: Ῥωμαίων προέδρου and p. 64, 20). Nonetheless in his theological works Blemmydes uses the word *Hellenes* in reference to pagans (*ibid.*, p. 128, 18 and p. 130, 82).

104. Laskaris, *Letters*, No 80, p. 107, 6-9: ἀπογόνους τινάς, τοῦ πατρῷου κλέους τῷ μεγάλῳ. See also No 5, p. 8, 14-15; No 40, p. 52, 18-19, 28; No 44, p. 58, 80; No 46, p. 63, 9; No

*Hellas*.<sup>105</sup> Nonetheless comparing Nicaea with the 'golden' Athens Theodore considered his native city to be superior since in Nicaea one could find not only philosophers of secular learning, as one found in ancient Athens, but also philosophers of the Christian dogma.<sup>106</sup>

The education of State and Church officials is sometimes mentioned in the correspondence of Theodore II. At least most of his addressees were able to understand his sophisticated style and answered in the same vein which the Emperor valued. This high standard of education is reflected in the people Theodore II employed in his entourage. From 1240 onwards when as heir to the throne he made his appearance in intellectual circles as a man of learning his officials had to undergo further training, and some of the imperial secretaries were sent to a teacher to improve their knowledge in philosophy and rhetoric.<sup>107</sup> The Emperor insisted that they should inform him of their progress and of any problems that might arise in their studies, and warned his secretaries how difficult a career in the palace was.<sup>108</sup> He employed well educated letter-writers or accredited messengers, such as Hagiotheodorites,<sup>109</sup> Constantine Koubouklarios,<sup>110</sup> John Phaix (Φάιξ)<sup>111</sup> and even George Akropolites.<sup>112</sup> Hagiotheodorites had been trained in philosophy and Theodore II asked Akropolites to teach Koubouklarios the last chapter of rhetoric.<sup>113</sup> The imperial secretary Balsamon was adept in rhetoric and praised greatly for it.<sup>114</sup> The secretary Manikaïtes was

125, p. 175, 24, 38; No 202, p. 250, 56; No 204, p. 253, 59 and p. 255, 129: 'Ἑλληνικὸν στρατεύμα; No 214, p. 266, 35: 'Ἑλληνίς φυλή; No 216, p. 268, 4: 'Ἑλληνίς διάλεκτος.

105. Laskaris, *Letters*, No 44, p. 58, 83: 'Ἑλληνικόν; No 118, p. 165, 24; No 125, p. 176, 52; No 77, p. 103, 4. Many works have been produced recently which refer to this period of exile as the beginnings of the modern Greek Nation. See A. E. Vakalopoulos, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ*, I, 2nd ed., Thessalonike, 1974; *idem*, *Origins of the Greek Nation: The Byzantine period (1204-1461)*, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1970; J. Irmischer, 'Nikāa als "Zentrum des griechischen Patriotismus"', *RHSE* 8 (1970), 33-47; *idem*, 'Nikāa als "Mittelpunkt des griechischen Patriotismus"', *BF* 4 (1972), 114-37; M. Angold, 'Byzantine 'Nationalism' and the Nicaean Empire', *BMGS* 1 (1975), 49-70; *idem*, *Laskarids*, pp. 29-33.

106. PG 140, col. 1345A; Papadopoulos, *Theodore II*, p. 86, n. 1; Hunger, *Wissenschaft*, pp. 136-38.

107. Laskaris, *Letters*, No 121, p. 168, 39-41; p. 169, 45-46 and 75-76.

108. *Ibid.*, No 121, p. 168, 24-27: ἐπειδὴ καὶ πολύτροπος ἡ διαγωγή τῶν ἐν βασιλείῳ περιπατούντων, συγκεκριμένη πάντοθεν καὶ ἀπὸ διαφόρων ἐθῶν συνελεγμένη καλῶς. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δυσκατορθώτους (δ) ἐν αὐτῇ ἀθλῶν ἔχει τοὺς στεφάνους.

109. *Ibid.*, No 27, p. 37, 19; No 168, p. 223, 8.

110. *Ibid.*, No 30, p. 40, 19; No 34, p. 43, 8; No 51, p. 75, 89; No 160, p. 219, 2-3.

111. *Ibid.*, No 7, p. 10, 7-9; cf. cod. Paris. Gr. 1193, f. 1: Πρὸς τοὺς λογίους τὸν τε Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν Κουβουκλάριον καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Φάικα ἐρωτήσαντας.

112. Laskaris, *Letters*, No 79, p. 107, 8-12.

113. *Ibid.*, No 168, p. 223, 7-9: χρήσαιο τῷ Ἀγιοθεοδώρῳ ἐξηγητῇ· ἡ γὰρ φιλοσοφία καλλίστως τοῖς καλοῖς αὐτῷ δροῦς δέδωκεν; *ibid.*, No 51, p. 75, 89-91: τὸ τῆς ἑτοιμοῦς τέλος φιλοτιμῆσαι αὐτῷ ἐν σπουδῇ.

114. *Ibid.*, No 115, p. 159, 1-8.

well equipped in rhetoric and syllogistic.<sup>115</sup> His secretary Nikolaos Kostomyres shared with him the admiration of the ancient Hellenistic city of Pergamon,<sup>116</sup> while the *prokathēmenos* of Philadelphia Demetrios Iatropoulos sent him a canon to be criticised.<sup>117</sup> The imperial secretary Michael Theophilopoulos is praised by his friend and possibly fellow-student George Babouskomites for his theological learning and for his good knowledge of rhetoric and philosophy.<sup>118</sup> In his response Theophilopoulos admitted that he studied rhetoric, geometry, astronomy and the physics of Aristotle.<sup>119</sup> These names and careers certainly show that men of high ability and culture were employed in the various departments of the State around 1250.<sup>120</sup>

Theodore II's correspondence with members of the Church helps us to get a clearer picture of their educational standard. In fact most of his addressees received their education in the Empire in exile and therefore they were the products of the education provided either by the State or privately during the Laskarid dynasty.

The subjects discussed in the letters vary from rhetoric to theology, from science to philosophy and astrology. And although these letters fail to reveal the depth, or otherwise, of the knowledge of the writer in any particular subject, they certainly reflect his wide intellectual interest which he shared with some of his contemporaries. For example, writing to the Patriarch Manuel II, Theodore praised the rhetorical style of a letter he had received from him.<sup>121</sup> If Manuel

115. Laskaris, *Letters*, No 137, p. 193.

116. *Ibid.*, No 80, p. 108, 33-34; No 138, p. 195.

117. *Ibid.*, No 140, p. 197. Demetrios Iatropoulos was *logothetēs tōn oikeiakōn* during the reign of Michael VIII; See Pachymeres, I, p. 125, 1-2; p. 377, 10; p. 522, 10-11. He presented to the Patriarch of Alexandria Athanasios, while in Constantinople, a tenth-century manuscript containing works of John Chrysostom. See cod. Alexandr. 34 (327), f. 341<sup>v</sup>: † Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἀπεχαρίσθη μοι παρὰ τοῦ κυρὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ Ιατροπ(ού)λ(ου) ἐν Κωνσταντίνου π(ό)λ(ει). ἀνετέθη δὲ παρ' ἐμοῦ τῇ ἀγιωτ(ά)τ(η) τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ εἰς μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ... † Ἀθανάσιος Ἀλεξανδρείας. See Th. Moschonas, *Κατάλογοι τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης*, I, *Χειρόγραφα*, Alexandria, 1945, p. 37.

118. Laurent, Babouskomites, No 6, p. 94, title and p. 94, 9-10, 13-14; No 8, p. 96, 2.

119. *Ibid.*, No 7, p. 95, 15-16, 18 and 29-30. From the fact that Babouskomites wished his friend to attain a ripe old age (No 8, p. 97, 22-23) one can assume that in about 1250 both were middle-aged. If there was any connection between George Theophilopoulos, governor of Troad ca. 1213 (Akropolites, I, p. 29, 9-10), and Michael Theophilopoulos, the imperial secretary, then the latter may well have studied under the supervision of Prodromos, the tutor of Blemmydes who followed a similar course after 1220 (Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, pp. 4-6 and p. 55, 10-11).

120. Following John Batatzes in his European campaigns at about the same time were other known secretaries, such as Joseph Mesopotamites, Nikephoros Alyates, John Makrotos and the *logothetēs tou genikou*, George Akropolites. See Akropolites, I, p. 91, 2-5.

121. Laskaris, *Letters*, No 96, p. 131, 30-36.



was really uneducated, as Akropolites reports,<sup>122</sup> there were certainly well educated notaries in the patriarchate to correct or compose the letter, such as the deacons Xiphilinos and Argyropoulos whose theological learning is praised by the Emperor.<sup>123</sup> On one occasion Theodore II sent some canons to Phokas, metropolitan of Philadelphia and adviser to John Batatzes, for criticism.<sup>124</sup> On another he proposed a new definition of philosophy to the bishop of Sardis Andronikos.<sup>125</sup> In another letter he informed the same bishop about the Greek victory over the Italians in a philosophical discussion he had with members of the mission of the marquis of Hohenmburg sent to John III Batatzes by Frederick II some time before 1250. He wrote on the same topic to his teacher Blemmydes where he gives more details of the discussion.<sup>126</sup> The victory claimed by Theodore II was to some extent the revenge for the Byzantine defeat in the theological discussions of 1234 with the papal legates and represents the results of much research undertaken after that failure.

In his letters to Germanos of Adrianople, the future Patriarch, Theodore II discussed the relation between kingship and priesthood, and expressed his views on the topic of sciences and scientists; and he condemned the ignorance of those who regarded astrology as a science, saying that this was a barbaric revival.<sup>127</sup>

Given this interchange of ideas which existed among the circles of intellectuals in Nicaea and the liveliness of mind with which they pursued their topics one may well see why Skoutariotes attributed the flourishing of letters to the personal role of Theodore II.

These personages and their intellectual pursuits embody the achievements of higher education established in Nicaea primarily with the help and inspiration

122. Akropolites, I, pp. 100, 21-101, 1: οὐ πεπειραμένος γραμμάτων οὐδὲ ὧν ἀνεγίνωσκε ἀνελλίτων τὴν ἐννοίαν.

123. Laskaris, *Letters*, No 129, p. 180, 4-6. This Xiphilinos is to be identified with Theodore Xiphilinos who as *chartophylax* signed a document on 31 March 1256 (see MM, *Acta*, I, pp. 118-22; Laurent, *Regestes*, No 1331, pp. 135-136). He was promoted to *megas oikonomos* of the Great Church after the recovery of Constantinople in 1261 (see Pachymeres, I, p. 226, 13-14), while probably John Bekkos succeeded him as *chartophylax*. Though Pachymeres (I, p. 521, 12) refers to him as being alive in 1281/82 Xiphilinos had already been replaced in office at least since February 1277 (see Gill, *Union of Lyons*, p. 30; Laurent-Darrouzès, *Dossier*, pp. 471-73) and died before 3 May 1280 (PG 141, cols. 285CD and 287A). The Xiphilinos of 1281/82 may well have been Manuel Xiphilinos who was also high official of the Church and probably Theodore's son (see Gill and Laurent-Darrouzès, *op. cit.*).

124. Akropolites, I, p. 97, 5-6; Laskaris, *Letters*, No 117, p. 164, 15-18.

125. *Ibid.*, No 123, p. 173, 21-22.

126. *Ibid.*, No 125, p. 175, 38, 40-46 and p. 176, 50-51; *ibid.*, No 40, p. 52; cf. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. XXXIV.

127. Laskaris, *Letters*, No 130, p. 182; No 131, p. 183, 4-7 and p. 184, 17-41: ζῳδίων προτυπώσεις καὶ προμαντεύσεις . . . τεχνάσματα ληρωδήματα παντελῶς καὶ φλυαρίας μεγάλα κινήματα . . . τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων γελῶμεν ἀναστηλώσεις . . . τί τῶν δυσχερῶν παρεμποδίσαι τοῦ μὴ θλασθῆναι παρ' ἡμῶν τὰ τῶν ἀσεβοῦντων σκιάσματα.

of the Emperors. Whether there were similar attempts made to re-establish separate higher institutions for religious education is difficult to decide. So far we know only of one example, the school for monks which Nikephoros Blemmydes established in Emathia, near Ephesos, about 1248. This *semneion* or hermitage school was organized and run according to the strict rules of his pedagogical ideals.<sup>128</sup>

In his *typikon* Blemmydes proposed the tenth year of age as the most suitable for those entering the monastic estate in his school, because at that age, he says, the students are well prepared to be trained in theology.<sup>129</sup> It was for these pupils that Blemmydes wrote his second and more ambitious commentary on the psalms and most of his theological works.<sup>130</sup>

His main works, however, composed to serve as text-books in his school comprise his *Epitomē* on logic and his *Epitomē* on physics. Modern scholars who have studied his manual on physics suggest that it was written in or shortly after 1258 when Blemmydes observed a lunar eclipse on 18 May of that year. His manual on logic was also written at the same period probably shortly before his work on physics. Though Blemmydes' philosophical works mainly derive from the Neoplatonic commentaries on Aristotle and the astronomical work of Cleomedes their great value lies in the fact that they preserved this knowledge at a difficult period for Byzantine learning. Moreover they influenced the next generation of scholars such as Pachymeres, Choumnos and Joseph the Philosopher and they survived in numerous manuscripts up to the nineteenth century, an indication of the popularity they enjoyed at schools thereafter.<sup>131</sup> Blemmydes also wrote two geographical works (*Ἱστορία περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν συνόψει* and *Γεωγραφία συνοπτική*) which are based on the works of Dionysios Periegetes and were addressed to his student Theodore II.<sup>132</sup> Furthermore he composed a *Λόγος περὶ*

128. For Blemmydes' pedagogical ideals see M. Karapiperes, 'Νικηφόρος ὁ Βλεμμύδης ὡς Παιδαγωγός καὶ Διδάσκαλος', *Nea Sion* 15 (1920), 533-49 and 16 (1921), 5-21, 105-21, 145-61 and 231-42, esp. p. 241.

129. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 93, 1-2, 16-17 and p. 94, 1-2: δοκιμώτεροι δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς ἐπίπαν εὐρίσκονται οἱ ἐξ ἀπαλῶν ὁνύχων τὴν πνευματικὴν ἐπιστήμην δεδιδασμένοι, καθάπερ ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν καὶ τεχνῶν. Since the tenth year of age is the average year for the completion of the *hiera grammata*, one may assume that Blemmydes accepted students who had completed their elementary studies.

130. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, pp. XC-XCI; Heisenberg proposed the year 1252; see also H. I. Bell, 'The Commentary on the Psalms by Nicephorus Blemmydes', *BZ* 30 (1929/30), 295-300, esp. p. 300. Some of Blemmydes' theological works, i.e. encomia for saints, hymns, blessings etc., are still unpublished.

131. Ed. PG 142, cols. 675-1004 (logic); *ibid.*, cols. 1005-1320 (physics); see esp. col. 1265C; Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, pp. LXVIII-LXXXII; S. Mercati, 'Blemmidea', *Bessarione* 29 (1915), 226-28; Pingree, Chioniades, pp. 135-36; W. Lackner, 'Zum Lehrbuch der Physik des Nikephoros Blemmydes', *BF* 4 (1972), 157-69, esp. pp. 160-62, 164 ff.

132. Ed. C. Muller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, II, Paris, 1861, pp. 458-68; see also Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, pp. LIX-LXIII; Sarton, *History of Science*, II, ii, p. 971.

ψυχῆς in March 1263 and some time after a *Λόγος περὶ σώματος*.<sup>133</sup> These works suggest that Blemmydes' teaching in his monastic school included not only theological but the whole of secular learning.

Blemmydes wanted his monastery *τοῦ ὄντος Θεοῦ* to remain independent from other monasteries or ecclesiastical authorities and in his will he bequeathed a sum of 100 litres of gold coins, originally given to him as a gift by the Emperors, for the upkeep of his foundation. His will was confirmed by the Patriarch Joseph who was asked by Blemmydes to secure an imperial chrysobull safeguarding the independence of the monastery. But after Blemmydes' death the money was taken over by the patriarchate and his monastery became a *metochion* of the monastery of Galesion.<sup>134</sup>

The school of Blemmydes was flourishing in 1259 when George of Cyprus came to the Nicaean Empire for higher studies. He had studied the *hiera grammata* in his island under Greek teachers and the *enkyklios paideia* in a Latin school in Nicosia.<sup>135</sup> After he completed his course he complained that he had not mastered grammar and that he had learned only the introduction to the Aristotelian logic. He ascribed his lack of progress to the foreign language and to the incapacity of his teachers.<sup>136</sup> He asked his parents to send him to Nicaea for higher studies which, as he says, held at the time the reputation of ancient Athens. But they refused. Finally he left Cyprus secretly and found his way through Ptolemais (Acre) in Palestine to Anaia and Ephesos. There as soon as he heard that Blemmydes, 'the wisest of all men', was living nearby he decided to go immediately and meet him; but people from Ephesos discouraged him saying that not only would the philosopher refuse to see him since he was so young, a foreigner and poor, but also his students would not allow him to enter the monastery. Finally the inaccessibility and the severity of Blemmydes described by those Ephesians convinced George of Cyprus to leave for Nicaea.<sup>137</sup>

133. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, pp. LXXXIII-LXXXIV; for its edition in Leipzig in 1784 see *ibid.*, p. LI; see also M. Verhelst, 'La tradition manuscrite de Nicéphore Blemmyde. A propos du manuscrit de Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Grec 1999', *Bulletin de Philosophie Médiévale* (Louvain) 8-9 (1966/67), 111-18; *idem.*, 'Le *Περὶ ψυχῆς* de Nicéphore Blemmyde. Préliminaires à une édition critique', *BF* 4 (1972), 214-19. For a discussion on the other works of Blemmydes see *Curriculum*, pp. XXXII-LIX; pp. LXIV-LXVII; pp. LXXXV-CX; see also *DHGE* IX, 173-82 by L. Bréhier.

134. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. XCI; PG 142, col. 1326CD; Pachymeres, I, pp. 341-42. It was on Galesion that the future Patriarch Athanasios came across a number of unknown works which perhaps may have derived from Blemmydes' collection. See *Vita Athanasii*, ed. H. Delehay, *Subsidia Hagiographica*, 42, Brussels, 1966, p. 134.

135. Lameere, *Tradition*, pp. 177, 12-179, 3.

136. *Ibid.*, p. 179, 3-15.

137. *Ibid.*, p. 179, 25-28, p. 181, 7-27. Angold ('Byzantine "Nationalism" and the Nicaean Empire', *BMGS* 1 (1975), 66) describing this event speaks about the xenophobia of the people of the Nicaean Empire. One could perhaps refer to this incident as *Blemmydophobia* of the Ephe-

After a six-month journey, George of Cyprus reached Nicaea and there he studied grammar and poetry, but his teachers, though they touched upon rhetoric and philosophy and gave other lessons, were not sufficiently masters of the subjects to be able to teach them.<sup>138</sup>

George of Cyprus is not the only scholar complaining of the low standard of education in Nicaea prior to 1261. Maximos Holobolos, too, states that the only subjects taught there were grammar and poetry and the latter not very well, while the study of rhetoric and philosophy had already disappeared. He thought that a number of factors may have been responsible for this situation. Either higher education had been neglected by previous Emperors or men well versed in learning were not appointed to teach or even highly educated teachers were not easily available to students, because, as he says, it is with teaching that learning flourishes.<sup>139</sup>

These criticisms on the quality of education in Nicaea must be accepted with certain caution since both George of Cyprus and Holobolos were educated in Nicaea and possibly at the higher public schools of St. Tryphon founded by Theodore II few years earlier. Furthermore the most celebrated intellectual of the day, George Akropolites, the tutor of George of Cyprus, was a Nicaean scholar. It must also be pointed out that both criticisms appear in eulogies written for and delivered before the Emperor Michael VIII and therefore they may well represent the official propaganda aiming at the disgrace of the Laskarids by extolling the achievements of the usurper Palaiologos. On the other hand it is very possible that in the confusion that ensued during the change of dynasties, from the Laskarid to the Palaiologan, the higher school of St. Tryphon may have lost most of its drive.<sup>140</sup>

When in 1261 the Byzantines returned to Constantinople they did so with renewed strength and ideals.<sup>141</sup> Some fifty-seven years before, people had fled in horror and disorder to the Greek States which grew up on the ruins of their Empire. The *raison d'être* of the Nicaean Empire was fulfilled. The Babylonian captivity came to an end. The Empire's role of preserving the Byzantine continuity and tradition had been at least partially fulfilled.

sians. In fact Blemmydes was never on good terms either with the local authorities or with the local people.

138. Lameere, *Tradition*, p. 183, 8-13; PG 142, col. 381.

139. Holobolos, *Orationes*, p. 95, 13-24, 31. For the opposite view about Nicaean learning see Theodore Metochites, *Νικαεύς*, ed. Sathas MB, I, pp. 151-52 and D. I. Polemis, 'The Speech of Constantine Akropolites on St. John Merciful the Young', *AB* 91 (1973), 44, 8-13.

140. Michael Senachereim, the professor of poetry and rhetoric, was in fact promoted to *prōtoasēkrētis* and *mesazōn* at the beginning of Michael VIII's reign and may have given up his teaching activities; Pachymeres, I, p. 92, 5-6; p. 109, 22-23; cf. Angold, *Laskarids*, p. 180.

141. Pachymeres, I, p. 17, 14-16: ἐξ οὗτου δ' ἡ Κωνσταντίνου πόλις 'Ρωμαίοις ἐάλω καὶ ἦν μεταναστρέφειν ἀνάγκη τῇ πατρίδι τὰ τέκνα.

As far as education is concerned apart from the preservation of the traditional curriculum there was also an important development. Higher education which since the twelfth century had been mainly under the aegis of the Patriarch now once more came under the protection of the Emperor with the result that secular education was given greater attention. This development can be followed in the Empire in exile through the schools of Karykes up to the schools of Hexapterygos, Blemmydes, Babouskomites and the court schools of St. Tryphon. The next step might have been the creation of a higher 'School of Philosophy' and a Patriarchal School, but this was left for the next generation in its ancient and legitimate home.



PART II

HIGHER EDUCATION UNDER  
THE EARLY PALAIOLOGOI (1261-*ca.* 1310)





## CHAPTER II

### HIGHER EDUCATION AT CONSTANTINOPLE

(1261-1282)

#### THE TEACHING OF GEORGE AKROPOLITES AND GEORGE OF CYPRUS

At the time of the recapture of Constantinople by the Byzantines of Nicaea George Akropolites, the grand logothete, was the most distinguished scholar of his day.<sup>1</sup> His learning represents both the continuity and change of Byzantine higher education. For although he was a product of the Nicaean Empire his learning derived from the Patriarchal School of Constantinople through both of his teachers, Theodore Hexapterygos and Nikephoros Blemmydes. Hexapterygos had studied at the Patriarchal School in Constantinople before 1204, while Blemmydes had studied under Prodromos of Skamandros who was a student of Constantine Kaloethes, the *oikoumenikos didaskalos* or head of the same ecclesiastical institution.<sup>2</sup> After he had completed his higher education *ca.* 1239 under the guidance of these two scholars Akropolites pursued his philosophical studies independently. He studied Plato, Proklos, Iamblichos and Plotinos thus taking the study of philosophy further afield. The extent of his erudition and desire to communicate it to others is evident from the fact that he was made tutor of higher education to Theodore II Laskaris. This exploration in philosophy may have been facilitated by his position as a high official in the imperial service, for he may have had the opportunity to acquire manuscripts in the newly recovered provinces.<sup>3</sup>

Unlike his teacher, the monk Blemmydes, who chose to stay behind in his monastic school near Ephesos, George Akropolites returned to Constantinople immediately after its recapture to play an active part in the capital he had secretly left some twenty-eight years earlier. He was certainly there on 15 August 1261 when Michael VIII made his solemn entry into the capital for which occasion

1. Lameere, *Tradition*, p. 185, 7-8: καὶ τοῦ Ἀκροπολίτου τηρικαῦτα, πλέον τῶν ἄλλων τὰ ἐς λόγους ὄντος σοφοῦ; PG 142, col. 381AD where George of Cyprus refers to Akropolites as the only remaining widely educated man at that period: παιδεύσεως εἰς ὧν ἅπαν εἶδος συναγροχῶς, καὶ διὰ πάντων εὐδοκιμῶν, ὥς ἐν οὐδενὶ πρὸς οὐδένα καταδέχεσθαι σύγκρισιν.

2. See above p. 8 and p. 11.

3. Akropolites, II, p. 71, 8-13: ἀλλ' ἐπειπερ αὐτὸς τῶν τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἡνράμην ὀργίων τῷ τε θειοτάτῳ συνήλθον Πλάτωνι καὶ τῷ μουσολήτῳ Πρόκλῳ, ἔτι τε μὴν τοῖς ἐκθαστικωτάτοις ἀνδράσιν Ἰαμβλίχῳ τε καὶ Πλωτίνῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς, οὓς οὐ καιρὸς καταλέγειν, ἐποδηγήθην πρὸς τὴν διὰγνῶσιν τοῦ ἔργου. For his teaching career in Nicaea see above pp. 17-19.

Akropolites composed the thirteen prayers (εὐχάς).<sup>4</sup>

Among the first acts of Michael VIII for the restoration of the old prestige of the capital was the re-establishment of an institution for higher education and George Akropolites became its head. This new initiative, probably inspired by Akropolites, marked the re-establishment of the higher 'School of Philosophy' in Constantinople which had remained closed since 1204.<sup>5</sup>

We do not know anything about the location of this institution, nor of any of its professors, nor of the scholars who acted as assistants to George Akropolites. That it was re-established shortly after 1261 seems certain from the remarks the Patriarch Germanos III made to the Emperor in 1265, suggesting that Akropolites was by then tired from teaching for so long and that he should step down and allow others to take over his post.<sup>6</sup>

Access to this school was given to those who wished to obtain a higher education and it is reported that a large number of students attended Akropolites' classes. This undoubtedly reflects the great enthusiasm of the Byzantines for higher education as soon as it was available.<sup>7</sup>

Our main source of knowledge about this institution is George of Cyprus who, determined to study there, seems to have been among the first who entered Constantinople after its recovery in 1261. Despite his zeal for learning he had to wait for some years before he was finally accepted by Akropolites in 1266/67. By then he was twenty-six years old and he was to study under him for nearly seven years. His course included the study of arithmetic of Nikomachos, the geometry of Euclid, syllogistic and analytics, rhetoric and philosophy and it seems to have proceeded by stages (βαθμοί) according to the difficulty of the subjects, culminating in a deeper study of Aristotle.<sup>8</sup>

4. Akropolites, I, p. 186, 13-28; Blemmydes refused to compose the prayers and Akropolites saved the Emperor who wanted to enter solemnly into the city from embarrassment. George Akropolites, like Michael Psellos two centuries before him, was a man of the world.

5. Lameere, *Tradition*, p. 185, 7-13: Καὶ τοῦ Ἀκροπολίτου . . . ὑπὲρ τῶν λόγων . . . δυσχεραίνοντος . . . καὶ βοηθεῖν εἰς δύναμιν θέλοντος, αἰσθόμενος βασιλεὺς ἀνίστη τῶν δημοσίων φροντίδων καὶ βοηθεῖν συγχωρεῖ. Καὶ ὁς, πρόθυμον ἑαυτὸν τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀκροᾶσθαι καθίζει διδάσκαλον; cf. Constantine Akropolites, *Διαθήκη*, *ΔΙΕΕΕ* 4 (1892), 48: ὅθεν καὶ αὐτόχρημα ταμειὸν κατέστη κοινὸν φιλοσοφίας τε καὶ Μουσῶν ἅπαντι τῷ εἰς χρεῖαν ἵκοντι ἐτοίμως παρέχων καὶ ἀφθόως μεταδιδούς. The Latin Emperor Baldwin with the approval of Pope Innocent III planned to open a Latin University in Constantinople in 1205 but the professors of the University of Paris refused to co-operate; see PL 215, col. 637; Fuchs, *Schulen*, pp. 53-54; Nicol, *Learning*, p. 30.

6. Pachymeres, I, p. 283, 7-11; Laurent, *Regestes*, No 1380, pp. 177-78; Fuchs, *Schulen*, p. 57 who wrongly gives 1267; Browning, *School*, p. 176; Darrouzès, *ΟΦΦΙΚΙΑ*, p. 110.

7. Lameere, *Tradition*, p. 185, 17-18: Συνέρρεον πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ὀλίγοι, ἔρωτι παιδείας ἐλκόμενοι; see also above n. 5.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 185, 12-17, and 20-23: καθίζει διδάσκαλον ἐξηγητὴν μὲν τῶν λαβυρίνθων Ἀριστοτέλους—οὕτω γὰρ ἐγὼ καλῶ τὰς ἐκεῖνον στροφάς καὶ πλοκάς αἷς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ περιβάλλον ἐργώδη κατανοεῖν ἀπεργάζεται—ἐξηγητὴν δὲ καὶ τῶν Εὐκλείδου καὶ Νικομάχου, ὅσα τεθεωρή-

The fact that George of Cyprus entered this higher school rather late in life together with his statement that he was the youngest among his fellow-students raises many questions relating to the kind of higher education taught by George Akropolites and the status of the students who attended his classes.<sup>9</sup> It is possible that the terms *νεώτερος* and *πρεσβύτεροι* George of Cyprus uses in this context may not refer to the age of the students but to the years of study under Akropolites. This, however, does not alter the situation, for we still lack details concerning Akropolites' teaching. We do not know for example whether any preliminary course was required for those who wanted to enter this higher institution, nor whether these older students (*πρεσβύτεροι*) he mentions were civil servants who had entered this institution to obtain more qualifications necessary for the advancement of their careers. Indeed, it is possible that this institution may have been geared to training state officials which might explain why George of Cyprus, who may not have held any official position prior to 1266/67, had not been accepted at the school. Nor do we know for certain whether this higher education course was taught within a fixed period of time according to a strict curriculum which students had to follow from its initial stage.<sup>10</sup> That this was probably so is suggested by the fact that Akropolites had arranged his teaching in stages, which indicates that a fixed curriculum existed in this higher institution and most probably a preparatory course of instruction was required.<sup>11</sup>

It is not certain how long Akropolites remained a teacher. But while he held his chair in this institution he also retained the office of grand logothete, and sometime after December 1266 he became responsible for the punishment of the supporters of the Arsenite faction.<sup>12</sup> With such heavy commitments it is most probable that he had a number of lecturers on his staff to assist him in his teaching, although there is no evidence for this.

κασιν οἱτοι, ὁ μὲν γεωμέτρης, Νικόμαχος δὲ ἀριθμητικούς, ἐκδιδάσκοντες . . . Τῆς τοίνυν συλλογιστικῆς καὶ ἀναλυτικῆς καλῶς τῷ διδασκάλῳ σαφηνισθείσης, ὡς ἐπῆλθεν αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς τὰ τῆς ἱστορικῆς τοὺς ὁμιλητὰς ἐμβιβάζειν πρὶν τινα δεύτερον τῶν ἀριστοτελικῶν βαθμῶν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀναβαίνειν.

9. Lameere, *Tradition*, p. 185, 18-20: ἡπείγετο καὶ ὁδε, νεώτατος μὲν τοῦ χοροῦ, πλεονεκτεῖν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ τοῦ μαθήματος καταλήξει οὐδὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων παραχωρῶν οὐδενί.

10. We do not know when George of Cyprus was given the office of *prōtopostolarios* or what exactly he was doing in Constantinople before entering Akropolites' classes, which might have been helpful for the questions raised above. On the office of *apostolarios* see Darrouzès, *ΟΦΘΙΚΙΑ*, p. 134, n. 2, p. 263, p. 288 n. 1, p. 289 and p. 292.

11. We know for instance of an *hypatos* (i.e. *tōn philosophōn*) who studied under Holobolos first and then followed higher lessons under George Akropolites; see Treu, *Makrembolites*, p. 30, 12-16; see also below p. 56 and p. 118.

12. Pachymeres, I, p. 316, 2-5: ἀνατίθεται τοίνυν τὰ περὶ τούτων τῷ Ἀκροπολίτῃ Γεωργίῳ καὶ εἰς λογοθέτας μεγάλῳ καὶ σοφῷ τὰ μάλιστα, πλὴν κατημελημένως τῶν εἰς συνείδησιν ἔχοντι. This happened during the patriarchate of Joseph I of Galesion who was Patriarch from 28 December 1266 to 9 January 1275 and 31 December 1282 to 23 March 1283; see Laurent, *Chronologie*, pp. 144-46; *idem*, *REB* 18 (1960), 205-208.

Unfortunately, most of the works of George Akropolites were burnt by the anti-unionists at the beginning of 1283 and so we are now deprived of valuable information which might have cast light on the organization and the place of this higher institution, the method of his teaching and the names of some of the students who attended his classes.<sup>13</sup>

Of the many students of George Akropolites we know so far of two, George of Cyprus and John Pediasimos, who later in life distinguished themselves. Some of the leading unionists such as Constantine Meliteniotes and George Metochites may have profited from his erudition, if not by attending his classes, at least by belonging to his intellectual circle.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand given the climate of opinion few scholars—and there are many at that period whose higher studies are unknown to us—would have dared to acknowledge George Akropolites, a Latinophile, as their teacher.

There is no doubt, however, that Akropolites was very successful as a teacher and played an important role in the revival of learning during the early Palaiologan period. George of Cyprus goes so far as to claim that even the names of the subjects he taught were unknown to his contemporaries.<sup>15</sup>

This teaching post in the Higher School of Constantinople which carried such prestige seems to have aroused the envy of other high officials. The *sebastokrator* John Tornikes who was related by marriage (*συμπένθερος*) to Michael VIII, wrote to him a letter saying that:

You are eating in vain the bread of the Emperor by sitting in Constantinople, since I can come and do your job, that is, teach the *Organon* to the children and carry out the duties of the *sekretion*.

George Akropolites answered that he was willing to give up the professorship and change jobs with the *sebastokrator* provided that the Emperor who was the

13. Pachymeres, II, p. 27, 5-8: καθ' ἐξῆς δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ τὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ μεγάλου λογοθέτου σύγγραμμα, ὁμοίως κάκεινο ἔχον, καὶ ἄλλοις οἷς γράφειν ἐπῆει καὶ μόνον μεμνήσθαι δογμάτων ἐπάγοντες μῶμον, πυρὶ παρεδίδουν τοὺς τόμους. One may be surprised that even Akropolites' son Constantine did not possess a single work of his father; see his letter No 96, ed. H. Delehay, AB 51 (1933), 275: μέμνησαι πάντως, ὡς ἔφην σοι . . . οὐδὲν τῶν τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ πονηθέντων εὐρίσκεσθαι παρ' ἐμοὶ . . . ζητήσῃ δ' ὑπεσχόμενη καὶ στελεῖν σοι διὰ τάχους, εἰ κτήσομαι . . . ζητήσας τὴν πρώτην εὐχερῶς οὐχ εὐρόμην . . . Καὶ νῦν δ' ἴσθι ῥαδίως οὐχ εὐρίσκω ζητῶν.

14. George Metochites refers to Akropolites as the greatest scholar of his time, see Georgius Metochites, *Historia Dogmatica*, ed. Gozza-Luzi in A. Mai, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, VIII, 34, p. 14: 'Ο δὲ . . . Ἀκροπολίτης Γεώργιος . . . μέγας λογοθέτης τὴν ἀξίαν τελῶν . . . τῇ . . . καθ' ἐξιν ἐπιστήμῃ τῶν μαθημάτων καὶ τῇ ἐξ ἄκρον τῆς σοφίας ἀφίξει οὕτινι τῶν ἀπάντων καιροῖς ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς παραχωρήσας τῶν ἴσων βραβείων αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ πάντας ὑπεραναβεβηκῶς κράτει φύσεως καὶ παιδεύσεως. Constantine Meliteniotes was a close friend of George of Cyprus and he certainly belonged to the circle of George Akropolites. On Pediasimos see below p. 116 ff.

15. PG 142, col. 381D: 'Εξ ὧν τί γίνεται; Πλατυσμός ἐπιστήμης, ἀναβίωσις, ὡς εἰπεῖν, λόγων, ἀναθήλῃσις τε χοροῦ λογικῶν, ἀνάληψις μαθημάτων, ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα γνῶριμα τὸ πρὸ τοῦ.

sponsor of both offices accepted Tornikes' proposal.<sup>16</sup>

We do not know for what reason and when George Akropolites gave up his teaching career but it is very possible that his departure to the West on 11 March 1274 as the Emperor's representative to the council of Lyons may have had something to do with it. That he was teaching until 1273/74 is confirmed by the career of George of Cyprus who most probably completed his seven years of study under Akropolites in 1273/74. This date coincides with Akropolites' departure to the West in March 1274. Since a relatively long stay abroad was envisaged—in fact he did not return to Constantinople until late autumn of that year—it is reasonable to assume either that a temporary substitute was found to undertake his teaching commitments or that he did relinquish his post before he left for Lyons.<sup>17</sup>

Whether George of Cyprus took over from Akropolites at this stage is not certain. But round about this period he began his teaching career probably in the monastery of Akatalptos where he had lived for a long time.<sup>18</sup> In fact two of his students, Manuel Neokaisareites and Nikephoros Choumnos, both civil servants, were his students, between the years 1273 and 1275. Neokaisareites

16. Akropolites, II, p. 67, 5-9: «ψευδῶς κάθησαι καὶ τρώγεις τὸ ψωμὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐντὸς τῆς Κωνσταντινίου πόλεως· τὴν δουλείαν γάρ, ἥτινα ποιεῖς σύ, δύναμαι ἔλθειν καὶ ἐκπληροῦν καὶ αὐτός, ἥγονν ἐρμηνεύειν τοὺς παῖδας τὸ ὄργανον καὶ τὰς τοῦ σεκρέτου διεξάγειν ὑποθέσεις»; *ibid.*, p. 69, 16-26: ἀντάλαξον τὰ σὰ τοῖς ἐμοῖς, αὐτὸς γὰρ ἤδη συντίθεμαι . . . ὁ θῶκος δέ σοι ὁ διδασκαλικὸς παρεσκευάσται, ἡτρεπίσται δέ σοι καὶ ἡ καθέδρα τῶν κρίσεων. καὶ δίδασκε μὲν τοὺς πρὸς παιδείαν φιλόσοφον προσερχομένους σοι τάληθῃ, δίκη δὲ θύνη θέμιστας. γενέσθω δ' οὖν ἡμῖν ἡ ἀντάλαξις τῶν βίων γνώμη τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἀμφοῖν. This John Tornikes was the son of the *parakoimōmenos* Demetrios Tornikes († ca. 1251) and brother of Constantine and Andronikos Tornikes. He was in 1258 δούξ and κελουστής τοῦ θέματος Θρακησίων; see MM, *Acta*, IV, p. 74; Ahrweiler, Smyrne, p. 149; G. Shmalbauer, 'Die Tornikioi in der Palaiologenzeit, Prosopographische Untersuchung zu einer byzantinischen Familie', *JOB* 18 (1969), 121-22, No 5. It seems that Akropolites' son Constantine later on married John Tornikes' daughter Maria; see Nicol, Akropolites, p. 254. Maximos Holobolos wrote an ode after the death of Andronikos Tornikes, ed. by Th. Moschonas, *Pantainos* 54 (1962), 277-78 and by G. de Andrés, *La Giudal de Dios* 175 (1962), 85-88.

17. Pachymeres, I, p. 396, 4-6; *ibid.*, p. 398, 4-5; cf. Gill, Union of Lyons, p. 8.

18. Eustratiades, Kyprios No 20 (Lameere No 20) *EPH* 1 (1908), 422-23 to the *chartophylax* of Thessalonike John Stavrakios: Ζητεῖτω δὲ ἡμᾶς ὁ κομιούμενος τὰ βιβλία μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις—οὐ γὰρ εὐρήσει—ἐν τῇ μονῇ δὲ μάλιστα τοῦ Σωτήρος—'Ακατάληπτος ἐπονομάζεται—ἐνθα ἡμεῖς καταμένομεν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὸ γνῶρισμα τοῦτο ἐτι ἀγνοῶν διαμένει, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν Παντοκράτορα τὸ μέγα μοναστήριον ἐπιστάς, ἡ τὸν Κύπριον ζητεῖτω Γεώργιον ἡ τὸ μοναστήριον αὐτῷ ἐπιδείξει· καὶ πάντως ὅτι καὶ ἐν γειτόνων οἰκοῦμεν, ὅτι καὶ πολλῶν ἐτῶν τοῖς ἐκεῖσε μονασταῖς τυγχάνομεν γνῶριμοι, οὐκ ἀπορήσοι τοῦ βουλομένου μέχρις ἡμῶν ἐξηγήσασθαι; see also No 67 (Lameere No 67), *EPH* 3 (1909), 6 to Neokaisareites where George of Cyprus says that he was living and probably teaching in a monastery: μόνοι γὰρ σοι τὸ ὅλον οἰκοῦμεν μοναστήριον καὶ παραβύλλει ἡ τὴν σχολὴν ἡμῖν ἐπικόπτει οὐδεὶς, ὥς εἶναι διὰ τοῦτο τῆς μεθ' ἡμῶν ὀμιλίας καταπολαύνει εἰ τις βούλεται, ὅπως ποτὲ βούλεται καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον. On this monastery see Janin, *Églises*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 504-506.

entered the civil service as *prōtoasēkrētis* and continued as his student; while Choumnos having probably completed his studies in 1275 was sent on a political mission to the Mongols.<sup>19</sup>

George of Cyprus certainly had a great success as a teacher and most of his students reached the highest offices. He was greatly respected in imperial circles. He held the office of *anagnōstēs* and *prōtoapostolarios* and acted as adviser to Michael VIII.<sup>20</sup> From a letter to his friend and former fellow-student John Pediasimos we can deduce the subjects he taught. Pediasimos had sent his student Doukopoulos from Ochrida to complete his studies under George of Cyprus in Constantinople. There must have been a similarity between the curriculum of higher studies in Constantinople and that followed in Ochrida under Pediasimos, for after George of Cyprus had examined the young man he found him well equipped in grammar, poetry, rhetoric, syllogistic and geometry and concluded that there was nothing more that he could teach him. The subjects enumerated here must have been the rudiments of higher education. For we know that George of Cyprus, besides these subjects, studied and most probably taught arithmetic, analytics and Aristotelian philosophy which he may have regarded as the summit of his teaching.<sup>21</sup>

So far we know of eight students of George of Cyprus. One of these remains anonymous and there may be a further six who sought to become or may have been his students. His three most famous students were Theodore Mouzalon, Nikephoros Choumnos and John Glykys. Mouzalon was transferred from the military to the civil service by Michael VIII Palaiologos and was given the office of *logothetēs tou genikou*. After the death of George Akropolites in 1282 he was promoted by the same Emperor to grand logothete, which office he held together with that of *prōtovestiarios* until his death in 1294.<sup>22</sup> Nikephoros Choumnos started his career as *koiaistōr* (κοιαίστωρ). Later he was promoted to *mesazōn* and finally as *epi tou kanikleiou* acted as prime minister to Andronikos II.<sup>23</sup> John

19. Pachymeres, I, p. 395, 17-19; Verpeaux, *Choumnos*, p. 34.

20. Pachymeres, I, p. 392, 14-16.

21. Eustratiades, *Kyprios*, No 35 (Lameere No 35), *EPh* 1 (1908), 431-33; Treu, *Pediasimos*, pp. 48-49; see below p. 117; cf. Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 75. For the presence of Aristotle in George of Cyprus' teaching see his letter No 17 (Lameere No 17), *EPh* 1 (1908), 421-22, to Neokaisareites: Δι' ἡμᾶς οὐχ ἦκεις δι' Ἀριστοτέλην οὐχ ἦκεις τί τοῦτον τὸ αἷτιον; No 47 (Lameere No 47), *EPh* 2 (1908), 196-97, where a copy of Aristotle's *Ethics* was requested. As far as Plato is concerned see No 58 (Lameere No 58), *EPh* 2 (1908), 203, to Skoutariotes where Syrianos' scholia on Plato's *Parmenides* were requested; No 28 (Lameere No 28), *EPh* 1 (1908), 427-28, to John Stavrakios who copied a manuscript of Plato for George of Cyprus.

22. Pachymeres, I, pp. 495, 14-496, 4; Eustratiades, *Kyprios*, No 118 (Lameere No 131), *EPh* 3 (1909), 284-85.

23. Eustratiades, *Kyprios*, No 57 (Lameere No 57), *EPh* 2 (1908), 202-203; J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. 3, Paris, 1831, pp. 367-69: καθηγεμῶν ἐμοὶ καὶ παιδευτῆς καὶ μυσταγωγὸς ὑπῆρξε καὶ διδάσκαλος μέχρι παντός τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν βίου . . . ὁ πολὺς ἐκεῖνος τὴν σοφίαν, πολὺς

Glykys after a successful career in the imperial service (*epi tōn deēseōn, logothetēs tou dromou*) became finally Patriarch of Constantinople (1315-1319).<sup>24</sup>

Another promising student of George of Cyprus was the *prōtoasēkrētis* Manuel Neokaisareites who is the addressee of at least thirty-one letters from his tutor, all of them written before 13 March 1283.<sup>25</sup> Considering the rhetorical essays composed by Neokaisareites which were praised by his teacher in his correspondence one would have expected that he would have played an important role in the intellectual activity of his time, especially when his tutor was raised to the patriarchal throne. However, if we are to judge from the reticence of contemporary sources he does not appear to have been active. Nor can we judge from his own works since only a religious poem has been traced so far.<sup>26</sup> He seems, however, to have continued his duties as *prōtoasēkrētis* and he is most probably the addressee of a letter from Constantine Akropolites in the early 1290's.<sup>27</sup> He seems to have been alive some thirty years later *ca.* 1320. He is probably to be identified with the *prōtoasēkrētis* Neokaisareites mentioned by Gregoras whose daughter Eudokia, famous for her beauty, was after the death of her first husband Constantine Palaiologos married to Andronikos II's son Constantine in Thessalonike.<sup>28</sup>

Kaloeidas, the protégé of the influential metropolitan of Ephesos Isaac, was another of his students for whom he showed concern. When Kaloeidas was recalled to Ephesos before he had completed his studies, George of Cyprus wrote to the metropolitan Isaac to send the young man back to Constantinople to finish his course.<sup>29</sup>

Melitas was another student of George of Cyprus who also looked after

καὶ τοὺς λόγους, τὸ μέγα θαῦμα τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου, ὁ πᾶν Γρηγόριος, ὃν πατὴρ μὲν ἤνεγκε Κύπρος, εἰτ' ἦν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης χειροτονηθεὶς ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ διδάσκαλος; J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Nova*, Paris, 1844, No 3, p. 4; cf. Verpeaux, *Choumnos*, p. 30.

24. Kourouses, Glykys, pp. 302-11, esp. p. 309. Kourouses re-edited George of Cyprus' letter No 98 (Lameere No 101): τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων (i.e. John Glykys), *ibid.*, p. 307.

25. Cf. Lameere, *Tradition*, pp. 197-203 and 215-18.

26. Neokaisareites' poem survived in cod. No 31 of the New Collection of MSS in the Patriarchal Library of Jerusalem, f. 191<sup>v</sup>: τῷ αὐτῷ μηνὶ λ' (i.e. 30 January) τῶν ἁγίων Τριῶν Ἱεραρχῶν. Πόημα τοῦ πρωτασεκρέτης κύρ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Νεοκαισαρίτου; this manuscript was written on Mt. Athos in 1339/40; see Kerameus, *Bibliothèque*, vol 5, p. 532.

27. See cod. Ambros. H 81 sup., No 6, ff. 270<sup>r-v</sup>.

28. Gregoras, I, pp. 293-94. A Michael Neokaisareites subsequently promoted to *megas adnouiastēs* was active in the area of Thessalonike in 1318 and later and may well have been a relative of Manuel if not his son; see L. Petit-B. Korablev, *Actes de Chilandar, Actes de l'Athos*, V, VV 17 (1911), Nos 37, 38, 39, 104, p. 87, 107-108; p. 91, 163; p. 95, 113, p. 216, 37-38.

29. Eustratiades, Kyprios, No 9 (Lameere No 9), *Eph* 1 (1908), 415-17. On Kaloeidas family, see Ahrweiler, Smyrne, pp. 157-58; H. Hunger, *Johannes Chortasmenos*, Vienna, 1969, pp. 119-20. On the etymology of this name, see Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βλὸς καὶ Πολιτισμός*, vol. 6, Athens, 1955, p. 472.

his household and acted as his scribe. He was ordained deacon of St. Sophia and was among the educated clergy of the Great Church until his tragic death by suicide in July 1303.<sup>30</sup>

The monk Markos was another student of George of Cyprus whose controversial religious writings were submitted to his teacher for correction. These writings were the cause which led to the resignation of George-Gregory of Cyprus from the patriarchate in 1289.<sup>31</sup>

An anonymous student of George of Cyprus is the addressee of three letters and since in his entire correspondence the names of the addressees are very rarely left out one may wonder whether this student, in the ensuing ecclesiastical controversy, sided against George of Cyprus who decided to excise his name when he edited his letters.<sup>32</sup>

That he chose his students carefully, selecting the most promising ones, is shown from the answer he gave to Neokaisareites who recommended a relative of his called George as a prospective student. He had no compunction in turning him down since neither his knowledge nor his intelligence was of the standard he demanded from his students.<sup>33</sup>

It has been suggested that Theodore Xanthopoulos was also a student of his though the evidence adduced does not seem convincing.<sup>34</sup> Eustratiades states that John Cheilas, the future metropolitan of Ephesos and later on an arch-enemy of the Patriarch Gregory, was also a student of his, but he provides no evidence for his statement.<sup>35</sup>

It is very possible that the two distinguished scholars of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, Constantine Akropolites, the son of George Akropolites, and Manuel-Maximos Planoudes were also George of Cyprus' students at least for some time. Although this is not clearly stated in our sources there are indications which might entitle us to make such an assumption.

Constantine Akropolites occasionally speaks about his studies and even about his teachers though unfortunately without giving their names. We know that while his father George Akropolites was in the process of rebuilding the church of the Anastasis in Constantinople he was studying for his *enkyklios paidia*. The young Constantine sometimes visited the work of restoration and as

30. Melitas hanged himself in his room because he was unable to pay his debts; see Pachymeres, II, pp. 385-88; Laurent, *Regestes*, No 1547, pp. 334-35. For his service as a scribe, see Lameere, Nos 227, 228, ed. Kougeas, *Münchener Thukydides*, pp. 598-600; letter No 228 was ed. also by Eustratiades as No 187, *EPh* 5 (1910), 450-52.

31. Pachymeres, II, pp. 117, 4-118, 5.

32. Eustratiades, *Kyprios*, Nos 40, 41, 195 (Lameere Nos 40, 41, 126).

33. *Ibid.*, No 108 (Lameere No 111), *EPh* 3 (1909), 40-41: 'Ὁρᾷς γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, ὡς οὐτε φύσεως δξείας, καὶ πάντα πόνον ὑπὲρ μαθήσεως ἀπαινεῖται.

34. Verpeaux, *Choumnos*, p. 30.

35. Eustratiades, *Kyprios*, *EPh* 1 (1908), 83.



the elder son shared the high cost with his parent.<sup>36</sup> Though these events happened some years after 1261 we do not know the exact time of the restoration of the church nor the stage of his *enkyklios paideia* at the time to be able to ascertain when he completed his secondary education and started his higher studies.<sup>37</sup> Unfortunately the *typikon* of the church of the Anastasis drawn up by George Akropolites, which might have solved some of these problems, has not survived.<sup>38</sup>

In an unpublished oration for St. Euplos, however, Constantine states that he had studied his *enkyklios paideia* at the church of Sts Peter and Paul.<sup>39</sup> This church has been identified with St. Paul's in the *Orphanotropheion*.<sup>40</sup> And it was there that Maximos Holobolos was appointed as rhetor by Michael VIII in 1265.<sup>41</sup> It therefore appears that Constantine Akropolites studied his *enkyklios paideia* and probably rhetoric under Maximos Holobolos in the public school of St. Paul. However, in the four letters he sent him though Constantine shows great respect to Holobolos he never addresses him as his teacher.<sup>42</sup> On the other hand letters Nos 66, 71, 73 sent to an anonymous teacher may have been addressed to Holobolos, since from their content it is clear that they were addressed to a teacher in rhetoric. For example in letter No 73 Constantine asked his teacher for the names of the months used by the Greeks, and particularly the Athenians; while in letter No 71 he enclosed a *logos* for criticism.<sup>43</sup>

More information about his teacher, probably the same person as the addressee of these three letters, exists in his encomium for St. John Merciful the Young. There Constantine speaks of his teacher as a man commanding respect whose students were of high standing, many with access to the imperial service. His tutor was connected with Nicaea and as a young man suffered from his eyes and was cured by the healing powers of St. John when he visited his relics preserved in the church of St. Tryphon in Nicaea.<sup>44</sup> This man was still alive and

36. Delehay, Constantini Acropolitae, pp. 280-81; Nicol, Akropolites, p. 251; Janin, *Églises*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 20-22.

37. Delehay, Constantini Acropolitae, pp. 279-80.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 282: ἐπὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷ μεγάλῳ νεῷ (i.e. of the Anastasis) πάνθ' ὡς προτέτακται διενεργεῖσθαι στέργω τε καὶ κυρῶ.

39. Cod. Ambros. Gr. H 81 sup., ff. 45<sup>v</sup>-46<sup>r</sup>: ὁ γὰρ τοι σηκὸς ἵνα γε ἡ σπουδὴ ἐφ' ἣ τὴν ἐγκύκλιον περιενόστησα, τῶν μὲν θείων ἀποστόλων Πέτρου τε καὶ Παύλου . . . τῇ κλήσει τετίμηται . . . κατὰ λόγους καὶ παιδείᾳ συλλήπτουρας εὐρεῖν ἡντιβόλησα; see R. Macrides, A Translation and Historical Commentary of George Akropolites' History, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1978, p. 32.

40. Janin, *Églises*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 399-400; Browning, School, pp. 174-75.

41. Pachymeres, I, p. 284, 5-6; see also below p. 52 ff.

42. Ed. by Treu, Makrembolites, pp. 28-30; also by Kourouses, Galesiotes, pp. 370-71 (Nos 6, 7, 12, 37 of Akropolites' letters).

43. See Appendix, pp. 164-65.

44. D. I. Polemis, 'The Speech of Constantine Akropolites on St. John Merciful the Young', *AB* 91 (1973), 31-54, text pp. 43-53, esp. pp. 48-49, 19-31: 'Ὁ δὲ τὴν θεραπείαν λαβὼν (i.e. my

only lately recounted the life of St. John to his student urging him to write it up.<sup>45</sup> If the suggested date, the beginning of the fourteenth century, for the writing of this encomium is correct then Akropolites' tutor was one of those teachers who served the Emperor, was connected with Nicaea and was alive at that period. We know of two teachers who may qualify under these criteria: George Pachymeres and Maximos Holobolos. Both received letters from Constantine though neither is referred to as his tutor. We have already mentioned the four letters sent to Holobolos by Akropolites. Pachymeres also seems to have been the anonymous addressee of letter No 14 to whom Akropolites sent his encomium for St. Constantine and asked him to make arrangements for its public delivery on the feast day of the saint.<sup>46</sup> The addressee of the letter No 101 whom Akropolites congratulated for his recently composed manuals in philosophy and mathematics may also have been Pachymeres.<sup>47</sup>

Though the identification of Constantine Akropolites' teacher in rhetoric remains unsolved the fact that Holobolos and Constantine were both connected with the school of St. Paul, the former as teacher and the latter as student, seem to carry more weight. It is therefore more probable that the anonymous teacher of Akropolites mentioned in his encomium for St. John Merciful the Young as well as the addressee of the three letters written about 1296 was Maximos Holobolos. The fact that Holobolos' name appears in previous letters but not in those three can perhaps be explained by the fact that no names of correspondents are given after letter No 45.

Constantine Akropolites undoubtedly continued his studies beyond the *enkyklios paideia* and rhetoric. Unfortunately we do not know when he was born and therefore the period he spent for his higher studies can only be assumed from subsidiary evidence. For if Manuel Akropolites who appears as *epi tōn gonatōn* in two synodical documents in 1277 and 1285 is his younger brother who later became the monk Melchisedek, then Constantine might have been born at least some time before 1255 and his higher studies would have started in the early 1270's.<sup>48</sup> Similarly little is known about these studies. Pachymeres for instance when speaking of the education of Theodore Mouzalon, who was a student of George of Cyprus, refers also to Constantine Akropolites. Both men were educated under the patronage of the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos and both fell

teacher) χρόνους τε βιώσας οὐκ ὀλίγους . . . καὶ πλείστοις μεταδὼς τῆς παιδείσεως . . . ἱερεῖς ἀνακτόροις καὶ βασιλείοις ἐγκαταστήσας; see also *ibid.*, p. 48, 1-10.

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 48-49, 19-25: ὅπερ καὶ μόλις ἐμοὶ τὸ θαῦμα καταπεπίστευκε καὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀγίου βίον συγγράψασθαι διηρέθισε; *ibid.*, p. 52, 7-8; p. 53, 18-25.

46. Ed. by M. Treu, 'Ein Kritiker des Timarion', *BZ* 1 (1892), 362; D. I. Polemis, 'The Speech of Constantine Akropolites on St. John Merciful the Young', *AB* 91 (1973), 37.

47. See Appendix, pp. 165-66.

48. Gill, *Union of Lyons*, p. 30; Laurent-Darrouzès, *Dossier*, p. 471; Laurent, *Blachernes*, p. 148; Darrouzès, *ΟΦΘΙΚΙΑ*, pp. 532-33; cf. Kourouses, *Glykys*, pp. 338-40, esp. p. 340, n. 1.

from favour because of their opposition to the Union with the Catholic Church. Since both were intended for the civil service one would expect the Emperor to have sent both to study under the same teachers.<sup>49</sup>

That his father, George Akropolites, was primarily responsible for his education Constantine clearly states in his will and in one of his letters. Unfortunately he does not tell us whether he was taught at home or whether he attended his father's lectures in the higher imperial institution together with other students. But that he continued his studies under another teacher is also apparent for he tells us that his father endowed him with a fortune so that he was free to pursue his studies.<sup>50</sup>

His new teacher may well have been George of Cyprus. For George's student, Nikephoros Choumnos, writing to Constantine Akropolites speaks of their strong ties of friendship.<sup>51</sup> If the anonymous addressee of Constantine Akropolites' letter No 50 is Nikephoros Choumnos, as it has been suggested, then we can assume that they had probably studied under the same teachers and more specifically under George of Cyprus and that their friendship may have developed during their student days.<sup>52</sup> Furthermore George of Cyprus taught in the service of the Emperor Michael VIII for nearly ten years before he became Patriarch in March 1283 and many state officials were his students. He also addressed four letters to Constantine Akropolites from the content of which it becomes clear that the two men were so familiar with each other that George could ask Akropolites to send him writing paper or lend him his copy of Aelius Aristides, the rhetor.<sup>53</sup> George of Cyprus, like Constantine Akropolites, seems to have been also interested in the lives of saints.<sup>54</sup> The fact also that both com-

49. Pachymeres, I, pp. 495, 15-496, 4.

50. See Constantine Akropolites, *Διαθήκη*, ed. M. Treu, *ΔΙΕΕΕ* 4 (1892), 47-48: τὰ δ' αὖ πρὸς τοῦ γεγεννηκότος καὶ καλῶς θρέψαντος καὶ παιδείας πάσης τὸ γε εἰς αὐτὸν ἦκον πλουσίως μεταδόντος . . . πλὴν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς οὐχ ὅτι λογικὴν ἐκκληρωσάμην παιδείαν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ χρυσὸν τε καὶ ἀργυρὸν προσειλήφειν . . . ἐφ' ᾧ γε διὰ βίον ἀκωλύτως τὴν σοφίαν ἔχειν με ἐμπορεύεσθαι· ἦν ὑπὲρ ἀργυρὸν καὶ χρυσὸν ἅπαν τε ἄλλο τῶν ἐν βίῳ τιμωμένων ἐισηγεῖτό μοι τίθεσθαι; see also Appendix, No 66, p. 165, 5-6.

51. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Nova*, Paris, 1844, No 83, p. 104: ἐν ἄμφω πεφύκαμεν δεσμῶ καὶ νόμῳ φιλλας.

52. Cod. Ambros. H 81 sup., f. 286<sup>r</sup>: κοινὰ τὰ πάντα τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐξ αὐτῆς τὰ πρῶτα γενέσεως; cf. Kourousses, Glykys, p. 340, n. 1.

53. Eustratiades, Kyprios, No 2, *EPh* 1 (1908), 409-10; Nos 38, 39, *EPh* 1 (1908), 434-35; No 169, *EPh* 5 (1910), 215-16; (Lameere Nos 2, 38, 39, 183).

54. We know of five lives of saints composed by George of Cyprus: St. George, PG 142, cols. 299-345; St. Dionysios the Areopagite, ed. Makarios Patmios, *Εὐαγγελικὴ Σύλπιγξ*, Amsterdam, 1754, pp. 627-653 (*BHG*<sup>3</sup>, 557); St. Euthymios of Madyta, *ΔΙΕΕΕ* 4 (1894), 392-422; St. Marinae Antiochinae, *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς* 19 (1935), 189-200, 227-39; St. Lazaros of Galesion *Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, vol. III, Brussels, 1910, pp. 588-606. A canon to St. Christophoros composed by George of Cyprus is mentioned in his letter No 196 (Lameere No 119), *EPh* 5 (1910), 496-97. For a list of the lives of saints composed by Constantine Akropolites, see Nicol, Akropolites, pp. 254-55.

piled *progymnasmata* may be taken as further evidence pointing to a teacher-student relationship between the two men, although this cannot be stated with any certainty.<sup>55</sup>

It is through this long training under the best teachers of his day that Constantine Akropolites acquired a high standard in and familiarity with classical Greek, an achievement which was not equalled by any other Byzantine author according to a modern scholar.<sup>56</sup>

Concerning Manuel-Maximos Planoudes (*ca.* 1255-1305) there are also indications that he too may have studied for a time under George of Cyprus. Planoudes was born in Nikomedeia in Asia Minor.<sup>57</sup> He lost his mother when he was young and his father married again as we can deduce from four verses he wrote for his step-mother.<sup>58</sup> He had a brother who inherited the paternal property in Nikomedeia and an uncle of high standing in Constantinople who may have supported him in his studies.<sup>59</sup> He had most probably completed his studies by 1280 since in that year he appears as the collaborator and editor of a volume, mainly a collection of hexametric poetry (cod. Laur. 32, 16). The marginal scholia in this manuscript written by Planoudes himself show his knowledge of Latin which he must have acquired before the completion of this manuscript.<sup>60</sup>

We do not know Planoudes' teacher in higher education nor his tutor in Latin language and literature but we get certain glimpses of his early career from one of his poems written on 10 April 1283. He certainly held high office and was present at meetings in the palace:<sup>61</sup>

καίπερ ἐνὶ μεγάλοισιν ἀνακτορείοις προσεδρεύων,  
 . . . . .  
 ὃς ὅα Μανουὴλ σὺνομ' ἔχων λέγομ' ἡδὲ Πλανούδης.

55. The works of George of Cyprus which have connection with his teaching are his seventeen fables, three tales and a characterization (*ἡθοποιία*) ed. by S. Eustratiades with the heading: *μῦθοι ἐν Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ Μῦθοι*, Alexandria, 1910, pp. 215-230; the three *διηγήματα* are Nos 17, 18, 20 and the *ἡθοποιία* is No 19, *ibid.*, pp. 227-30; *chreia*, ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, II, Paris, 1830, pp. 269-73, included in PG 142, cols. 417C-421C; *encomium maris*, ed. PG 142, cols. 433-44; three declamations ed. M. Schmidt, *Georgii Cyprii Declamationis e codice Leidensi editae*, Leiden, 1875-77 (two declamations); O. Miller, *Gregorii Cyprii declamatio inedita*, Oels, 1890; R. Foerster, *Libanii Opera*, vol. 6, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 49-82 and vol. 7, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 142-79 (*Teubner Series*). For Constantine Akropolites' *progymnasmata* see below pp. 100-101.

56. M. Treu, 'Ein Kritiker des Timarion', *BZ* 1 (1892), 363-64.

57. L. G. Westerink, 'Trois textes inédits sur saint Diomède de Nicée', *AB* 84 (1966), 180; cf. Planoudes, *Letters*, p. 191: τὸ τῆς ἐμῆς πατρίδος ἑδαφος, τὴν Νικομηδέων μεγαλόπολιν λέγω.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 191.

59. *Ibid.*, No 20, p. 37, 7. For Planoudes' uncle see *ibid.*, No 6, p. 13, 22; No 7, pp. 14-15; No 24, p. 42, 59.

60. Kougeas, *Planudea*, pp. 106-108; Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, pp. 28-39, esp. pp. 32-33; see also below p. 81 ff.

61. Planoudes, *Letters*, p. 204, vv. 3 and 27; see also below p. 67 and n. 5.

We know also some of Planoudes' eminent friends. He was on friendly terms with the student of George of Cyprus, Nikephoros Choumnos, to whom he sent a letter in Thessalonike in 1299 praising him for his rhetoric and lamenting that at that time the subject was on the decline. He also mentions that Choumnos assisted him and his pupils, probably with state financial help.<sup>62</sup> Another old friend was John Glykys, the future Patriarch, as we are told in a letter he sent him in the late period of Planoudes' life.<sup>63</sup> He was also associated with the grand logothete and *prōtovestiarios* Theodore Mouzalon to whom he sent a letter in Asia Minor in 1292/93 asking for financial support for the imperial library of the monastery where he lived.<sup>64</sup>

On the other hand Planoudes had not met Manuel Philes to whom he wrote in 1295 congratulating him for his poem commemorating Philanthropenos' victories against the Turks. Philes was evidently the student of George Pachymeres at whose tomb he recited a funeral ode.<sup>65</sup> No letter of Planoudes addressed to Pachymeres or any other known professor of the Patriarchal School has survived but undoubtedly he must have been acquainted with Pachymeres since they had a common friend in Athanasios, Patriarch of Alexandria.<sup>66</sup>

Most probably Planoudes did not belong to the circle of the Patriarchal School but rather to the circle of the Patriarch George-Gregory of Cyprus since his friends, Choumnos, Glykys, Mouzalon had been the Patriarch's students.<sup>67</sup>

Not only did he most probably know George of Cyprus but he also may have been his student for a time. We find Planoudes among the friends and disciples of George of Cyprus, and it sometimes seems that he inherited his intellectual if not his spiritual role, as for example in his relations with Theodora

62. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 6, pp. 13-14; for the dating *ibid.*, p. 202; see esp. p. 13, 15-19: *κἀν δεξιού ῥήτορος τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐβελήσω μνησθῆναι, εὐθύς αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν σαντοῦ καλῶν καὶ γενναίων συγγραμμάτων ἐπὶ νοῦν ἀπαντᾷς κἀγὼ τὸ ἐκείνων ἀλλος ἐμαντοῦ κόσμον καὶ συμμαχίαν ἤγημαι, ἐπειδὴ κινδυνεύει παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν νῦν ὄντων μηδένα λόγον εἶναι τῶν λόγων*; p. 13, 19-21: *ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὅτε περὶ ἐμέ τε καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους τοιοῦτον δίδως σαντόν, ὅλον ἂν ἡμεῖς ἀξιῶσαιμεν*; p. 13, 14-15: *ὅτε καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς λόγοις σιποικειούμεθα* (i.e. Planoudes and Choumnos were of the same rank in learning and probably fellow-students). Choumnos supported financially another teacher of that period called Chalkomatopoulos; see Hyrtakenos, *Letters*, No 74, p. 35.

63. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 23, p. 40, esp. 7-9.

64. *Ibid.*, No 67, pp. 81-85; Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 80, dates this letter in 1292/93. See also below pp. 70-71.

65. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 84, p. 106; *ibid.*, p. 254. For Philes' connection with Pachymeres see below pp. 63-64.

66. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 109, p. 146, 41-42: *ἀνὴρ ἅγιος, καὶ τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πάσης μητροπόλεως πατριάρχης καὶ φίλος ἡμέτερος*. Pachymeres paraphrased pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite for Athanasios of Alexandria and exchanged letters with him; PG 3, cols. 108-16; see also below p. 63.

67. Most probably Planoudes wrote only one letter to each of these friends since he could meet them in the capital whenever he wanted; see Planoudes, *Letters*, No 6, p. 14, 40-47; No 67, p. 85, 114-116.

Raoulaina. She was the daughter of John-Ioannikios Kantakouzenos and Eirene-Eulogia, the sister of Michael VIII Palaiologos. Her first husband had been the *prōtovestiarios* George Mouzalon. After his murder in 1258 she married John Raoul who was also *prōtovestiarios*. She opposed the Union of the Churches and for this reason she was punished by her uncle. She was also a leading Arsenite and the mortal remains of the Patriarch Arsenios were finally transferred to the monastery of St. Andrew in Constantinople which she founded. She became a nun and was the spiritual daughter of the Patriarch Gregory from whom she received at least twenty-nine letters. Theodora was highly educated: she collected and copied books of both secular and profane wisdom. Some of her writings survive and even a personal manuscript of the rhetor Aelius Aristides. As we learn from Planoudes' letter to her in 1294 written in answer to her request to correct her copy of harmonics he explained to her that he was unable to do this for he had lent his own copy to a certain Autoreianos who never returned it. For her Planoudes also composed three poems and we are informed of her death on 6 December 1300 most probably by a note written by Planoudes himself in codex Monac. Gr. 430 which show that their relations were not of short duration but continued up to the end.<sup>68</sup>

There are a number of other common elements in both men that may further suggest a close connection between the two. Both George of Cyprus and Planoudes lived at known—though different—periods and probably both taught in the monastery of Akataleptos.<sup>69</sup> Both knew Latin; George of Cyprus having attended a Latin school for his secondary education in Cyprus while Planoudes mastered the language in Constantinople and translated several authors into Greek.<sup>70</sup> George of Cyprus copied and completed several books for himself while Planoudes was a well-known copyist and editor.<sup>71</sup> Both collected, analyzed

68. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 68, pp. 85-87, esp. p. 85, 21-31; *ibid.*, pp. 245-47. On Theodora Raoulaina see Nicol, *Kantakouzenos*, No 14, pp. 16-18 and references; Kougeas, *Münchener Thukydides*, pp. 588-609, esp. pp. 590-603; S. Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral(l)es*, Athens, 1973, No 11, pp. 25-26. The twenty-nine letters addressed to her by George of Cyprus are (according to Lameere's chronological order) the following: Nos 171, 201-215 and 227-239. From these only the following have been published by Kougeas and Eustratiades: Nos 171, 201, 211, 227, 228, 235 and 236. The unedited letters of George of Cyprus to Raoulaina refer mostly to the exchange of fruits and sweets. I am indebted to Professor D. M. Nicol who lent me his photo-copies of the unedited letters of George of Cyprus.

69. See above p. 35 and n. 18. Planoudes copied in the monastery of Akataleptos cod. Marc. Gr. 481 (*collocazione* 863) in 1299; see Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, pp. 90-96 and plates 71-74; see also below p. 70.

70. Lameere, *Tradition*, pp. 177, 16-179, 3. For Planoudes' translations see below p. 81 ff.

71. Eustratiades, *Kyprios*, No 75 (Lameere No 75), *EPh* 3 (1909), 13-14; Lameere, *Tradition*, p. 189, 19-24; in a letter to Raoulaina (Lameere No 211) George of Cyprus speaks of a book which probably was written by him, ed. Kougeas, *Münchener Thukydides*, p. 597. On Planoudes as copyist and editor see Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, pp. 28-39, 78-81, 81-87, 90-96; see also below pp. 71-83.

and edited proverbs.<sup>72</sup> Moreover they had common friends and acquaintances with whom both corresponded. We know of six: Andronikos II, John Glykys, John Phakrases, Nikephoros Choumnos, Theodora Raoulaina and Theodore Mouzalon. These connections strongly suggest that George of Cyprus and Maximos Planoudes knew each other.<sup>73</sup>

On the other hand we lack specific evidence which would show beyond any doubt that Planoudes was the student of George of Cyprus. Unfortunately the surviving letters of Planoudes belong to the period after 1292 when George of Cyprus was already dead. Neither does Maximos Planoudes appear in the correspondence of George of Cyprus nor is there enough evidence to identify him with the anonymous student of George of Cyprus.<sup>74</sup> Nonetheless certain aspects of their work, especially stylistic and philological, have not been fully explored and further research in this sector may yield valuable evidence on this point.

Of George of Cyprus' works only parts referring to his teaching of rhetoric have survived. These contain seventeen fables, three tales (*διηγήματα*), a *chreia*, his *encomium maris* (*ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν*) and a characterization (*ῥηθοπνοία*) which were written on the models of the *progymnasmata* of Aphthonios. His declamations might be considered as the next step in the study of rhetoric which usually followed the *progymnasmata*. His collection of proverbs may have been useful to a school mainly devoted to teaching rhetoric as a main subject.<sup>75</sup>

George of Cyprus in his autobiography apologizes for his meagre intellectual output and explains why he was not able to accomplish more. He says that from the age of twenty-six when he began his higher education until the age of thirty-three when he completed it he never had much free time to concentrate on his writing. And being very poor and a bibliophile he had spent much of his time copying his beloved books with his own hand though he was not a professional and quick scribe. Later, at the time of the dispute which broke out over the Union of the Churches he feared, as so many others did, for his life. Even during his patriarchate the great confusion which arose in the Church deprived him of his will to write. His creative ability was further hampered by the various illnesses he suffered, especially headaches and dropsy, which affected his writing.<sup>76</sup>

72. George of Cyprus' proverbs ed. PG 142, cols. 445-70; Planoudes' ed. by E. Kurtz, *Die Sprichwörtersammlung des Maximus Planudes*, Leipzig, 1886.

73. It is interesting to point out that George of Cyprus and Nikephoros Choumnos have also six common addressees: Andronikos II, John Glykys, John Phakrases, Theodora Raoulaina, Theodore Mouzalon, and Constantine Akropolites. Choumnos and Planoudes have the following eight common addressees: Andronikos II, Autoreianos (?), John Glykys, Leo (?) Bardales, Theodore Mouzalon, John Phakrases, Theodora Raoulaina and Theodore Xanthopoulos. Considering the common correspondents of the three men one can assume that both Choumnos and Planoudes were connected with George of Cyprus and belonged to the same intellectual circle.

74. See above p. 38 and n. 32.

75. See above p. 42, n. 55.

76. Lameere, *Tradition*, pp. 187, 14-189, 24; cf. A. Garzya, 'Sur l' "autobiographie" de

Nonetheless George of Cyprus seems to have been a very careful and systematic scholar. The names of five scribes who worked for him are known: John Stavrakios, *chartophylax* of the metropolitan of Thessalonike; Kabasilas who came also from the same city;<sup>77</sup> George Marmaras<sup>78</sup> and two of his students, John Glykys<sup>79</sup> and Melitas.<sup>80</sup> He was an exacting man who insisted on the aesthetic aspect of a book as is clear from his complaints to Stavrakios who had prepared a copy of Plato for him on loose pages of very old paper and various sizes, on irregular lines and ink which was far too dark. 'I would rather throw it into the fire or water so that it does not survive among my books', he wrote to Stavrakios.<sup>81</sup> He searched for good manuscripts indefatigably. The knowledge he gathered with so much effort he communicated to his students. Choumnos tells us that for the course of rhetoric he used Plato, Demosthenes and Aristides. He urged and encouraged others to collect books, as he did for example with Theodora Raoulaina, and thus he helped in the creation of an intellectual milieu and a tradition which lasted for a long time.<sup>82</sup>

George of Cyprus did not escape either the envy or the admiration of his

Grégoire de Chypre', *La parole et l'idée* 10 (1968), 308-11; *idem*, 'Observations sur l' "Autobiographie" de Grégoire de Chypre', *Πρακτικά τοῦ Πρώτου Διεθνoῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, vol. II, Nicosia, 1972, pp. 33-36.

77. Eustratiades, *Kyprios*, No 14 (Lameere No 14), *EPh* 1 (1908), 419-20; *ibid.*, No 20 (Lameere No 20), pp. 422-23; *ibid.*, No 21 (Lameere No 21), pp. 423-24; *ibid.*, No 28 (Lameere No 28), pp. 427-28. One John Kabasilas copied in 1285/86 the *Organon* of Aristotle and he can probably be identified with the Kabasilas mentioned by George of Cyprus (*EPh* 1 (1908), 420); see cod. Escorial. Gr. F. III. 10 (229), f. 247: 'Ετελειώθη τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον παρὰ τοῦ Καβάσιλας Ἰωάννου ἐν ἔτει 5748' *ινδ.* 18' † Τέλος τοῦ ὀργάνου; cf. Moraux *et al.*, *Aristoteles Graecus*, p. 168. At any rate there must have been a connection between Kabasilas mentioned here and the famous scribe Demetrios Kaniskes Kabasilas who was active in Thessalonike until the middle of the fourteenth century. Since they can hardly be one and the same person we can probably assume a scriptorium in Thessalonike under the direction of the Kabasilas' family; see G. I. Theocharides, *Δημήτριος Δούκας Καβάσιλας*, *Hellenika* 17 (1962), 1-23.

78. Eustratiades, *Kyprios*, No 78 (Lameere No 78), *EPh* 3 (1909), 16.

79. *Ibid.*, No 98 (Lameere No 101), *EPh* 3 (1909), 31; ed. also by Kourouses, Glykys, p. 307.

80. Kougeas, *Münchener Thukydides*, pp. 598-600, (Lameere Nos 227, 228); No 228 was re-edited by Eustratiades as No 187, *EPh* 5 (1910), 450-52. One may also add George Galesiotes who is the last of the seven scribes of cod. Mutin. Gr. 82 (III C 3), though he may have written the end of this codex later on; see Lameere, *Tradition*, p. 25 and p. 48; Kourouses, Glykys, p. 309, who suggests that the main scribe B of this codex must be John Glykys. One Constantine Galesiotes, probably relative of George Galesiotes, is the addressee of the letter No 206, cod. Vat. Gr. 1085, f. 260<sup>v</sup>, (Lameere No 216) where the Patriarch asked him to let him keep one of his books which though mutilated was worthwhile having: f. 260<sup>v</sup>: ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ κτῆμα ἑαυτοῦ ποιήσασθαι βούλομαι, βουλομένου μέντοι καὶ σοῦ, ἵνα δύο ταύτη αὐτὸ μὲν τῆς φθορᾶς ἀπαλλάξω—χερῶν δὲ τοῦ σώζεσθαι ἄξιον—σὲ δὲ τῆς . . . κατακρίσεως.

81. Eustratiades, *Kyprios*, No 28 (Lameere No 28), *EPh* 1 (1908), 427-28.

82. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. 3, Paris, 1831, p. 370; Kougeas, *Münchener Thukydides*, pp. 598-600, (Lameere Nos 211, 227, 228).



contemporaries. He was blamed by George Pachymeres for not writing for pleasure. His rivals in Constantinople exaggerated mistakes he made in a letter to a certain Doukaïtes and tried to denigrate him.<sup>83</sup> On the other hand Theodore Mouzalon refers to him as the greatest scholar of his time.<sup>84</sup> Nikephoros Choumnos described him as the miracle of his epoch and compared him to his homonymous father of the Church, Gregory of Nazianzos.<sup>85</sup> Even Pachymeres, who does not seem to have been his personal friend stressed his intellectual abilities.<sup>86</sup>

But his fame survived long after his death. Nikephoros Gregoras who studied under George of Cyprus' student, John Glykys, says that he revived the Attic style forgotten long ago by scholars.<sup>87</sup> Gennadios Scholarios, the first Patriarch after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 and a great scholar, refers to George of Cyprus as a great theologian, philosopher, mathematician and rhetor.<sup>88</sup> His works were widely used and in great demand. At the beginning of the fourteenth century for instance George Lakapenos quoted four examples from the Patriarch's writings which have not been found in the surviving works of George of Cyprus, an indication that not all of his works are known to us today.<sup>89</sup> Few years later his letters were used by Andreas Lopadiotes in the com-

83. Eustratiades, *Kyprios*, No 105 (Lameere No 108), *EPh* 3 (1909), 37-38. It was sent to Pachymeres or rather to a student: *τινὶ τῶν ὁμιλητῶν διὰ τина αἰτιώμενον, ὅτι μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν γράφει*; No 104 (Lameere No 107), *EPh* 3 (1909), 36 to Doukaïtes; cf. Lameere, *Tradition*, p. 94.

84. Eustratiades, *Kyprios*, No 118 (Lameere No 131), *EPh* 3 (1909), 284-85: *τοὺς δὲ σοφοὺς τῶν νῦν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων ἡττήσας καὶ νενίκηκας, ὅσον εἰ τις παραβάλλειν ἐθέλει λογικὸν ζῶον πρὸς ἄλογα*.

85. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. 3, Paris, 1831, p. 367: *Ἐκεῖνῳ συνέβη περὶ λόγους, ὥς μὲν ταῦτα τῷ ὁμωνύμῳ καὶ πάντων ἐπέκεινα*; *idem*, *Anecdota Nova*, Paris, 1844, No 3, p. 4, where Choumnos refers to his teacher as: *μέγας*; see also above p. 36, n. 23.

86. Pachymeres, II, p. 42, 15-16: *Ἐκλέγεται μὲν εἰς πατριάρχην τὸν ἐκ Κύπρου Γεώργιον, ἄνδρα λόγους ἐντραφέντα*.

87. Gregoras, I, p. 163, 9-15: *Καὶ ἦν τηρικαῦτα ἀνὴρ ἐν λόγοις ἐπίσημος τῷ βασιλικῷ συγκατελεγμένος κλήρῳ Γεώργιος ὁ ἐκ Κύπρου, ὃς τὸν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς εὐγενῇ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ῥυθμόν, καὶ τὴν ἀττικίζουσιν γλῶσσαν ἐκείνην, πάλαι πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον λήθης κρυβέντα βυθοῖς, φύσεως δεξιότητι, καὶ φιλοπονίᾳ τελεωτέρα πρὸς φῶς ἤγαγε, καὶ οἴωνεῖ τινὰ ἐχαρίσατο ἀναβίωσιν*; see also Ephraim, PG 143, col. 377B, vv. 10339-10342:

*Παιδεύσεως ἔρωτι καὶ μαθημάτων.*

*Ἐλθὼν κατοικεῖ πρὸς πόλιν Κωνσταντίνου.*

*Αὐτὸν δὲ μαθήμασιν ἐνδοὺς καὶ πόνοις*

*ἀφίκτο πρὸς μέγα τι παιδείας βάθος.*

88. A. K. Demetrakopoulos, *Ὁρθόδοξος Ἑλλάς*, Leipzig, 1872, p. 64. Scholarios says: *Γρηγόριον τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως εἰ τις ἠγνόηκε θεολόγον μὲν ἀριστον ὄντα καὶ φιλόσοφον δήπου, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ μαθηματικόν, ῥήτορα δὲ ἄκρον καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐκείνης τῶν Ἀττικῶν ῥητόρων ἔξεως καὶ δυνάμεως ἐν ἐπιστολαῖς τε καὶ λόγοις, οὗτος ἔοικε μηδὲν εἰδέναι τῶν φανερώων*.

89. Lindstam, *Lakapenos and Zarides*, pp. 19, 16; 20, 18; 27, 13; 121, 4. On Lakapenos see below p. 84ff. and pp. 101-103

pilation of the *Lexicon Vindobonense*.<sup>90</sup> At about the same period George Oinaïotes requested a book from his friend, Leo of Cyprus, containing the works of George of Cyprus.<sup>91</sup> Makarios Chrysokephalos included some letters of George of Cyprus in his *ξοδωνιά*, a collection or anthology of texts and excerpts from classical Greek and Byzantine literature prepared ca. 1328-1336 (cod. Marc. Gr. 452 (*collocazione* 796), ff. 201<sup>v</sup>-203<sup>r</sup>).<sup>92</sup> John Dokeianos possessed in the fifteenth century a volume containing the letters of George of Cyprus (cod. Taurin. Pas. Gr. 356).<sup>93</sup>

What were the scope and method of his teaching which caused them to remain in the memory of Byzantine scholars until the fall of the city to the Turks? Gregoras and Scholarios provide some explanations. He had studied deeply and was well versed in the Attic style which had been neglected by previous Byzantine scholars. With his teaching and writings he seems to have fostered the revival of the classical style which had always been the standard ideal of every Byzantine scholar.<sup>94</sup>

But this is not all. He seems to have been intensely interested in classical texts, which he studied with the aid of the philological technique he had developed. The great philologists of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, Planoudes and Moschopoulos in Constantinople, Magistros and Triklinios in Thessalonike followed and further developed his directions in editing a text.

George of Cyprus had been elected to the patriarchal throne against his wishes for he preferred to remain a teacher. But once he had assumed high office he took great care over the training of church officials and educated clergy: John Cheilas of Ephesos, Daniel of Kyzikos, Theoleptos of Philadelphia, for example, were all given bishoprics.<sup>95</sup>

90. *Lexicon Vindobonense, Recensuit et adnotatione critica instruxit* Augustus Nauck, St. Petersburg, 1867, pp. XI-XII; cf. Lameere, *Tradition*, p. 76.

91. Rein, *Briefsammlung*, No 91, p. 59 and n. 1. For the identification of the anonymous author of these letters with George Oinaïotes see Kourouses, *Gabalas*, pp. 91-121.

92. On this manuscript see Zanetti, *Graeca D. Marci Bibliotheca codicum manuscriptorum per titulos digesta* . . . , Venice, 1740, p. 242; J. B. G. d'Ansse de Villoison, *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. II, Venice, 1781, pp. 4-79, esp. p. 75; H. Omont, *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs et latins donnés à Saint-Marc de Venise par le cardinal Bessarion en 1468*, Paris, 1894, p. 32, No 278; Lameere, *Tradition*, p. 76; Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, pp. 168-72 and plate 138; On Chrysokephalos see Krumbacher, *GBL*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 602-603; Turyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-64; M. N. Manousakas, 'Μακκαρίου Φιλαδελφείας τοῦ Χρυσοκεφάλου ἀνέκδοτα χρονικά σημειώματα (1344-1346) εἰς δύο αὐτογράφους Μαρκεσιανούς κώδικας', *Θησαυρίσματα* 4 (1967), 7-19, 223-224.

93. On this manuscript, now lost, see Lameere, *Tradition*, pp. 15-17; Sp. P. Lampros, 'Αἱ βιβλιοθήκαι Ἰωάννου Μαρμαρά καὶ Ἰωάννου Δοκειανοῦ', *NH* 1 (1904), 300, 304.

94. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. 3, Paris, 1831, pp. 367-70, esp. p. 368, where Choumnos describes his tutor's style as being a model of eloquence to later scholars.

95. Lameere, *Tradition*, p. 187, 25-28; see also George of Cyprus' unedited letter No 193 to Raoulaina, in cod. Vat. Gr. 1085, ff. 258<sup>v</sup>-259<sup>r</sup> (Lameere No 202): 'Ἡμῖν ἐν βίῳ διὰ τοῦς λόγους ἡδίου μὲν οὐδενὸς συμβέβηκεν ἀπολαῦσαι . . . ἐπειδήπερ καὶ μόνῃ ἢ ἐντεῦθεν ἡδονὴ ἀντίρροπος ἐδόκει πρὸς πᾶσαν δυσχέρειαν . . . πᾶσαν ἀνίαν πόρῳ βάλλουσα τῆς ψυχῆς . . . (but after

One may say that the enthusiastic 'ξένος καὶ πένης' who left his island with great expectations personifies the first major intellectual achievement of the early Palaiologan 'Renaissance'. The details of his activities are not enough to provide a further and clearer picture of his career as a professor of higher learning. But one thing is certain. George of Cyprus inspired his students with the love of knowledge and scholarship in the truest sense of the word. And it is a fitting tribute to him that his students dominated the Byzantine intellectual scene for nearly two generations.

we were raised to the patriarchal throne) . . . δδυνόμενοι οὐ διαλείπομεν . . . καὶ ροσοῦμεν καὶ ἀλγοῦμεν καὶ ἔπερ τοῖς μὴ ὑπὸ φωτὶ βαδίζουσιν αἱ ὁδοί, λίθοι δηλονότι καὶ προσκρούσματα καὶ συντριβαὶ καὶ ἀλγήματα· τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ὁ βίος σαφῶς. εἶθε με πάλιν λόγοι, εἶθε δέχοιντο βίβλοι καὶ σχολαί, δραπέτην τῶν πραγμάτων γενόμενον, καὶ τάχ' ἂν τὴν τῆς ταλαιπωρίας καὶ τῶν ὀδυνῶν διεφύγγανον αἰσθῶσιν, ἱκανῶς, ὡς εἶωθα, τοῖς λόγοις ψυχαγωγούμενος καὶ τὰς δυσχερεῖας ἀποκρουόμενος. For the education of the church officials, see Gregoras, I, p. 181, 12-20, and for educated bishops, *ibid.*, pp. 177, 24-178, 3.

### CHAPTER III

## THE PATRIARCHAL SCHOOL AT CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE LATE THIRTEENTH AND EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

The Patriarchal School at Constantinople was a flourishing institution during the twelfth century providing at the same time a full secular education as a propaedeutic to theological studies and it seems that at that period it overshadowed the higher secular institution.<sup>1</sup>

It is at this period that the existing organization of this higher ecclesiastical institution, which earlier depended mostly on the *oikoumenikos didaskalos* and the rhetor, changed considerably. The first step to a long process of development was made by the decree (*νεαρά*) of Alexios I Komnenos in 1107.<sup>2</sup> Though the imperial decree does not specify any of the three offices, the *didaskalos tou Psaltēros*, the *didaskalos tou Apostolou* and the *didaskalos tou Evangeliou* who as head of the Patriarchal School kept also the title of *oikoumenikos didaskalos*, the existing evidence contained in the *Notitia Dignitatum* clearly states that it was Alexios I who created these three *didaskalikia*.<sup>3</sup> However, it seems that they came into being gradually in the course of his reign with the *didaskalos tou Evangeliou* having been probably instituted first as we can deduce from surviving lists of the *ὁφφίκια* of the Great Church.<sup>4</sup> The teaching of these *didaskaloi* was prob-

1. Browning, *School*, pp. 167-70 and p. 178; Wilson, *Church and classical studies*, p. 75.

2. Ed. Zepos, *JGR*, I, pp. 351-59; see now P. Gautier, 'L'édit d'Alexis I Comnène sur la Réforme du Clergé', *REB* 31 (1973), 165-201. Recent studies had refuted the idea of a Patriarchal School operating as early as the seventh and prior to the eleventh centuries. Its existence during the twelfth century, however, is, it seems, indisputable. See H.-G. Beck, 'Bildg. u. Theol. im frühmittelalt. Byzanz', *Polychronion (Festschrift F. Dölger)*, Heidelberg, 1966, pp. 69-81; P. Wirth, 'Die Jugendbildung des Eustathios von Thessalonike. Zur Entmythologisierung der "Patriarchal-akademie" von Konstantinopel', *OCP* 34 (1968), 148-50; Lemerle, *Humanisme*, pp. 95-96; Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie*, pp. 53-57; cf. Wilson, *Church and classical studies*, pp. 73-74.

3. Darrouzès, *ΟΦΦΙΚΙΑ*, pp. 549-50 and p. 202 ff.: *Εἰσὶ παρὰ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τρία διδασκαλικά ὁφφίκια· ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου, ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ Ἀποστόλου καὶ ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ Ψαλτῆρος, ἅτινα προσετέθησαν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπὸ νεαρᾶς τοῦ βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἀλεξίου.*

4. Darrouzès, *ΟΦΦΙΚΙΑ*, Notice H, p. 552 where no other teacher is mentioned; *ibid.*, Notice K<sup>1</sup>, p. 556; Notice K<sup>2</sup>, p. 559: *Ὁ διδάσκαλος ἐρμηνεύει τὸ ἅγιον Εὐαγγέλιον, τὸν Ἀπόστολον, εἰ δυνατόν καὶ τὸ Ψαλτήριον;* Liste P<sup>2</sup>, p. 573. The first known so far *didaskalos tou Evangeliou* is Niketas ὁ τοῦ Σεργίου who held that office before April 1117 when he was evidently bishop of Herakleia on Thrace. In fact his surviving works refer to the Psalms, the

ably related to the title they held. Thus the first was engaged with the exegesis of the psalter, the second with the epistles of St. Paul and the third with the gospel.

For the non-ecclesiastical sections of the Patriarchal School we hear of a *maistōr tōn rhetorōn*, who may eventually have taken the place of the rhetor, and even a *maistōr tōn philosophōn*. This last title is known only from the case of Manuel Karantenos *ca.* 1200 and probably refers to the last development in the teaching hierarchy of the Patriarchal School before 1204.<sup>5</sup>

We do not know exactly where the school was situated. The existing evidence suggests that there was no one single centre. Some of the lecture rooms seem to have been located in the church of St. Sophia, although a number of courses whether elementary or advanced, profane or religious, which came under the direction of the Patriarchal School, were taught in a number of churches. For example we know of seven schools which most probably operated in the twelfth century: a grammar school in the church of *Theotokos tōn Chalkoprateiōn* north of St. Sophia;<sup>6</sup> a school in the church of St. Peter near St. Sophia;<sup>7</sup> a school in the church of St. Theodore of Sphorakios also near St. Sophia;<sup>8</sup> a school in the church of Sts Peter and Paul in the *Orphanotropheion*;<sup>9</sup> a school in the church of the Forty Martyrs to which *ca.* 1200 an elementary school and a school of rhetoric were attached. It is very possible that each school specialised in a particular subject. Professor Robert Browning suspected that the *maistōr tōn rhetorōn* taught at the school of Sts Peter and Paul in the *Orphanotropheion*. But if *ὁ τῆς ἑρτορικῆς τέχνης καθηγμεὼν* is the same office as the *maistōr tōn rhetorōn*, which seems likely, then given the evidence contained in cod. Vind. Phil. Gr. 254, fols. 129<sup>r</sup>, 133<sup>v</sup>, the holder of the office about 1200 was most probably teaching at the school of the Forty Martyrs. The *καθηγμεὼν τῆς ἑρτορικῆς* mentioned in this manuscript became bishop of Patras and can be identified with George Tornikes who was in fact *maistōr tōn rhetorōn*.<sup>10</sup> Beside these

Pauline Epistles and the four Evangelists; see Browning, School, pp. 15-17 and p. 39; see also Wilson, Church and classical studies, p. 76 and n. 25.

5. Browning, School, pp. 198-200; P. Wirth, 'Manuel Karantenos, Plagiator Basilios' des Grossen', *BF* 3 (1968), 248-50.

6. Browning, School, pp. 171-72; Janin, *Églises*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 246-51.

7. Browning, School, pp. 172-73; Janin, *Églises*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 567-68. For a different view see Darrouzès, *ΟΦΘΙΚΙΑ*, p. 70, n. 4.

8. Browning, School, p. 173; Janin, *Églises*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 152-53.

9. Browning, School, pp. 174-77; Janin, *Églises*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 399-400.

10. Browning, School, pp. 173-74 and p. 178 where he suggests that the school of Forty Martyrs may refer to the church of the *Τεσσαράκοντα Μάρτυρες τῆς μέσης* not far from St. Sophia and opposite St. Theodore of Sphorakios; Janin, *Églises*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 483-84. For the *maistōr tōn rhetorōn* and later bishop of Patras George Tornikes see Browning, School, pp. 37-38; Lampros, Choniates, II, p. 356; see esp. J. Darrouzès, *REB* 23 (1965), 148-67; *idem*, *Georges et Démétrius Tornikes, Lettres et Discours*, Paris, 1970, p. 40. See also above p. 11 and n. 30.

schools there may have been others. For example an elementary school in the church of the *Theotokos Diakonissa* is reported during the eleventh century and probably continued to exist during the twelfth century.<sup>11</sup> Another school where theology was taught existed most probably in the church of Christ in the Chalke.<sup>12</sup>

With the capture of Constantinople in 1204 the Patriarchal School inevitably closed and though certain professors of this ecclesiastical institution were later active in the Empire of Nicaea the patriarchate in exile seems to have been unable to re-establish its school. The first attempt at this was made after the recovery of the city in the reign of Patriarch Germanos III (1265-66), a highly educated man, who seems to have been the inspiration behind the re-establishment of the Patriarchal School. Germanos drew the Emperor's attention to the necessity and urgency of having educated officials in the Church and proposed that Manuel-Maximos Holobolos be appointed as a teacher in logic, presumably as a first step to the re-establishment of the Patriarchal School since profane knowledge formed the preliminary basis of religious education.<sup>13</sup> That this appointment was connected with the refounding of the Patriarchal School is confirmed also by Pachymeres who may well have witnessed these developments since he himself taught in the Patriarchal School some years later. Pachymeres states that the school was reopened and made accessible to everybody under the supervision of Holobolos and that this occurred in the same year as the attempt on Michael VIII's life, which event took place in 1265.<sup>14</sup> Since Germanos seems to have been the prime mover of the refounding of the Patriarchal School we must assume that this was effected soon after his enthronement on 28 May 1265.<sup>15</sup>

It is both surprising and interesting that among so many educated officials of the Church at that time the Patriarch Germanos chose the young Holobolos for such an important ecclesiastical post. Manuel Holobolos' earlier career might have precluded him from such an appointment since round about 1261/62 when he was serving as imperial secretary he had been mutilated at the order of Michael VIII because of his loyalty to the blinded and deposed Emperor John IV Laskaris. Why he should have been so harshly dealt with we do not know. Nor do we have much information on his early life which might shed some light on this affair. That he was in the imperial service prior to the recovery of Constanti-

11. Browning, *School*, p. 174; Janin, *Églises*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 174-75.

12. Browning, *School*, pp. 177-78.

13. Pachymeres, I, p. 283, 3 and 10-12: *εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀγωγὴν εἰς παιδείαν λογικὴν . . . τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, παρ' ὅσον καὶ ἀνάγκη προβαίνειν τούτους τῷ λόγῳ ταῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς χρδαῖς ὡς μάλιστα χρησιμεύοντες*. For the education of Germanos see *ibid.*, I, p. 279, 2-3 and p. 282, 15-19, Germanos was: *φιλόλογος ἐς ἄκρον* and *παιδεύειν ἀρχαίαν ἔχων ἐκκλησιαστικὴν*; see Browning, *School*, p. 169.

14. Pachymeres, I, p. 284, 14-15: *καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῷ διδάσκοντι πᾶσιν ἐξηνοίγην τὸ τῶν μαθημάτων διδασκαλεῖον*; *ibid.*, I, 284, 16-19; cf. D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453*, London, 1972, p. 49.

15. On Germanos' patriarchate see Laurent, *Chronologie*, pp. 143-44.

nople in 1261 can be deduced from his encomia for Michael VIII. For there he speaks in great detail about the treaty of Nymphaion concluded in May 1261 between Michael Palaiologos and the Genoese.<sup>16</sup> He also seems to have followed Michael VIII's march from Meteorion to Constantinople after the news reached the Emperor of its recovery by Alexios Strategopoulos.<sup>17</sup> If the view put forward above, namely that Holobolos was the teacher of Constantine Akropolites mentioned in the encomium of St. John Merciful the Young, is correct, then he may well have been one of the students of the imperial schools of St. Tryphon in Nicaea and thus a beneficiary of the Laskarid dynasty.<sup>18</sup> It has also been established that he was a relative of George Galesiotes who came from Adramyttion, the birthplace of Theodore II's *prōtovestiarios*, George Mouzalon, who was murdered in 1258. It is very possible therefore, though not demonstrable, that Holobolos, too, came from Adramyttion and he may well have belonged to Mouzalon's circle which had remained faithful to the last of the Laskarids, thus attracting the suspicion and punishment of the new regime.<sup>19</sup> Immediately after this shattering experience Holobolos entered the monastery of Prodromos with the monastic name of Maximos.<sup>20</sup>

Despite this incident the Emperor, who shared Germanos' concern in the restoration of the old prestige of the capital, partly accepted the Patriarch's suggestion, released Holobolos from the monastery and appointed him rhetor of the Church. Then Michael VIII reinstated a *γραμματικευομένων σχολήν* in the church of St. Paul in the ancient *Orphanotropheion*.<sup>21</sup>

It is noteworthy that the Patriarch proposed Holobolos as a teacher in logic and not as a professor for one of the chairs of the Patriarchal School, that of the *Psaltēros*, the *Apostolou*, and the *Evangeliou*, which had been well-known since the twelfth century. But given that secular education preceded a theological training it is very possible that the Patriarch proposed the chair of logic simply as an initial move towards a full re-establishment of the Patriarchal School. On the other hand he did also propose the replacement of George Akropolites by

16. Ed. Treu, Holobolos, *Orationes*, I, pp. 30-50; ed. also by X. Siderides, *EEBS* 3 (1926), 174-91 esp. pp. 186-90; Angold, *Laskarids*, pp. 115, 118; Zepos, *JGR*, I, pp. 488-95.

17. Holobolos, *Orationes*, II, pp. 51-77, esp. pp. 66, 11-77, 4; see also *ibid.*, III, p. 92, 27-34 where Holobolos refers to the coronations of Michael VIII both in Asia Minor and Constantinople; *ibid.*, pp. 93, 5-94, 31.

18. See above pp. 39-40.

19. V. Laurent, 'Action de grâces pour la victoire navale remportée sur les Turcs à Atramyttion au cours de l'automne 1334', *Εἰς μνήμην Κ. Ἀμάντου*, Athens, 1960, p. 40, 55: *Χαῖρέ μοι, Ἀτραμύττιον, ὁ τῶν ἐμῶν προγόνων οἶκος*. The work has been attributed to George Galesiotes *ibid.*, pp. 28-29; cf. Kourousses, *Galesiotes*, p. 344. For Mouzalon see Pachymeres, I, pp. 23, 20-24, 1; for his murder see *ibid.*, pp. 55-63; Akropolites, I, pp. 154-56.

20. Pachymeres, I, pp. 192, 20-193, 4.

21. *Ibid.*, I, p. 284, 4-6 and 12-14: *συστήσασθαι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ μεγάλου Παύλου νεὼν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ὀρφανотροφείοις γραμματικευομένων σχολήν*.

the monk Maximos Holobolos. In doing so, undoubtedly, the Patriarch must have realized that having a monk as a head of a higher institution, catering for both types of education, would be advantageous to the patriarchate and the Church. Nonetheless the Patriarch as a product of the Nicaean milieu may well have had in mind the schools of the Nicaean Empire where higher education, profane and religious, was available for both state and ecclesiastical officials in imperial institutions, like that of St. Tryphon founded by Theodore II *ca.* 1255.<sup>22</sup> Moreover there is evidence to suggest that during the twelfth century the Emperor had a hand in the nomination of the non-theological teachers of the Patriarchal School and was partly responsible for their salaries paid out of imperial funds.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps the Patriarch was simply following this tradition when he asked the Emperor to appoint Holobolos. Michael VIII, as we have mentioned above, acceded partly to the Patriarch's request in appointing Holobolos as a teacher of rhetoric but it seems that he was not prepared to allow the whole of higher education, secular and religious, to come under the sole influence of the Church.

Whatever the case, the re-established Patriarchal School was once again housed in one of its traditional places, in the church of St. Paul in the *Orphanotropheion* which is also referred to in the sources as the church of Sts Peter and Paul and which, as has been suggested, must be identified with the church of the 'Holy Apostles'. A school seems to have been situated there since the ninth century and it is most probable that Constantine-Cyril, the apostle of the Slavs, was given a chair there in 861. We know at least of three teachers who taught at the school of St. Paul during the twelfth century: Stephanos Skylitzes, Basil Padiadites and Constantine-Cyril Stilbes.<sup>24</sup> Nikolaos Mesarites gives a long description of this school as it was during the patriarchate of John X Kamateros (1198-1206). It was divided into two sections, one for grammar, elementary music and elementary arithmetic, the other for rhetoric, philosophy, higher mathematics, (i.e. arithmetic, geometry, harmonics) and medicine.<sup>25</sup> Michael VIII took a personal interest in the School and often visited it, showing concern for the progress made by every student and providing for their welfare. Both teacher and students received stipends from the imperial treasury.<sup>26</sup>

22. Germanos belonged to the intellectual circle of Theodore II. Two of Theodore's letters to him survive; see Laskaris, *Letters*, Nos 130, 131, pp. 181-85.

23. Browning, *School*, p. 175 and references; cf. cod. Vind. Phil. Gr. 254, f. 129<sup>v</sup> where it is mentioned that about 1200 the students of the school of the Forty Martyrs were examined in the presence of the Emperor.

24. F. Dvornik, 'Photius et la réorganisation de l'Académie patriarcale', *AB* 68 (1950), 121, 124; Browning, *School*, pp. 174-76.

25. G. M. Downey, 'Nikolaos Mesarites: Description of the church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople', *TAPS*, N. S. 47, part 6, (1957), 899-900, 916-17; Browning, *School*, p. 177; Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie*, pp. 45, 58.

26. Pachymeres, I, p. 284, 6-10.



Manuel-Maximos Holobolos' teaching poses certain problems. In the title of some of his writings he is styled as *rhetōr tōn rhetorōn*—which must be regarded as the same office as that of rhetor of the Church applied to him by Pachymeres—and as *didaskalos tōn didaskalōn*. Both titles seem to make their appearance for the first time in this period. Most probably the title *rhetōr tōn rhetorōn* refers to Holobolos' secular and not to any theological teaching, for in the twelfth century similar duties seem to have been carried out by the teacher of the Patriarchal School bearing the title *maistōr tōn rhetorōn*. On the other hand the title *didaskalos tōn didaskalōn* may correspond to that of *oikoumenikos didaskalos*, although we possess no specific evidence of Holobolos as teacher of the gospel, nonetheless this title may refer to him as head of the Patriarchal School. This assumption is reasonable since Pachymeres categorically states that the Patriarchal School opened under Holobolos.<sup>27</sup>

His official duties as rhetor of the Church can be gleaned either from the existing references to him or from his writings. He sat in councils convened at the palace to discuss religious issues.<sup>28</sup> He took part in ceremonies and delivered orations and poems on special occasions. Many of his poems composed for the feast of Epiphany still survive, though from the extant *logoi* of the *maistores tōn rhetorōn* the usual genre on such occasion was an oration. Most probably his eulogizing *logoi* in honour of Michael VIII were written for similar ceremonial occasions.<sup>29</sup>

In so far as his teaching of secular education is concerned this is confirmed by his surviving works such as his commentaries on the *Technopaegnion* of the Theocritian corpus and especially on the first book of the *Prior Analytics* of Aristotle.<sup>30</sup>

Furthermore in an encomium he wrote for Michael VIII Holobolos speaks

27. For these titles see Holobolos, *Orationes*, p. 78, 1-3: τοῦ λογιωτάτου ῥήτορος τῶν ῥητόρων καὶ διδασκάλου τῶν διδασκάλων λόγος ἐγκωμιαστικός... His familiarity with the Holy Scriptures is shown throughout his works especially in his two orations: λόγος κατηχητικός ἀναγνωσθεὶς ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου Γερμανοῦ (*ibid.*, pp. 1-19) and ἐρμηνεία εἰς τὸ εὐαγγελικὸν ῥητόν τὸ «ἐὰν ἔχητε πίστιν ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως» (*ibid.*, pp. 20-29).

28. Pachymeres, I, pp. 392-93; II, p. 90, 7-18.

29. Holobolos' poems ed. by J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. 5, Paris, 1833, pp. 158-82. For other poems of his see *BZ* 5 (1896), 546-47 and 549-51; Philes, *Carmina*, II, pp. 373-75; *Anthologia Palatina*, III, p. 326 and p. 415; *Giudal de Dios* 175 (1962), 85-88; the same poem in *Pantainos* 54 (1962), 277-78. Three orations of his ed. by M. Treu, Holobolos, *Orationes*, pp. 30-98; the first ed. also by X. Siderides, *EEBS* 3 (1926), 168-91; a fourth oration ed. by L. Previale, *BZ* 42 (1943), 15-45. A letter composed probably by Holobolos and sent to Pope Clement IV ed. by N. Festa, *Bessarione* 6 (1899), 42-57. For another letter of his to Theodora Raoulaina see Kerameus, *Bibliothèque*, I, No 110, p. 345; cf. M. Treu, 'Manuel Holobolos', *BZ* 5 (1896), 552; Nicol, *Kantakouzenos*, p. 16.

30. C. Wendel, 'Die Technopägnien-Ausgabe des Rhetors Holobolos', *BZ* 16 (1907), 460-67; M. Treu, 'Manuel Holobolos', *BZ* 5 (1896), 552-53; cf. Harlfinger, *Περὶ Ἀτόμων γραμμῶν*, p. 44.

in great detail of the efforts of the Emperor to foster higher education and the results achieved. Now, he says, grammar is taught properly, (*ἀκριβάζεται γραμματική*), poetry and all kinds of metre are studied in great detail, (*λεπτολογεῖται ποιητική*), rhetoric has become 'the art of the city' (*πάνδημος . . . τέχνη*) and is known by many. He also stressed the teaching of Aristotle's *Organon* (i.e. *Analytica*, *Dialectica*, *Sophisticos elenchos*) and refers to the study of arithmetic, geometry and physics.<sup>31</sup> Considering that this eulogy was delivered after Holobolos had become *rhetōr tōn rhetorōn* we gain an idea of the higher studies in Constantinople in the late 1260's or early 1270's. The fact that Holobolos describes in great detail the study of grammar, poetry, rhetoric and even Aristotle's *Organon* is perhaps an indication that these were the subjects of his own teaching. That this was so is confirmed by a poem written by his student Thomas Gorianites early in 1273 where he specifies that he was still studying the *Organon* under Holobolos.<sup>32</sup> Nonetheless Holobolos refers briefly to the study of higher mathematics and physics and one is inclined to suspect that these lessons were either simply touched upon by him or taught in other higher schools such as the one supervised by George Akropolites.

His secular academic activities are further confirmed by a letter of Constantine Akropolites, who mentions that a late *hypatos* (i.e. *tōn philosophōn*) had as a young man studied a preliminary course, probably in poetry and rhetoric, under Holobolos and then followed higher lessons under George Akropolites, the professor at the higher secular school of Constantinople.<sup>33</sup> This information provided by Constantine Akropolites apart from corroborating the evidence found in Holobolos' writings shows clearly that a close collaboration between the two higher institutions, secular and ecclesiastical, had been in existence, at least in the early stages of the activities of the Patriarchal School.

Most probably Holobolos' teaching was directed mainly towards people who already belonged to the Church or were about to enter it. He may have had large audiences, if the number of 336 students attending his classes, quoted in a polemical treatise, is to be believed.<sup>34</sup>

Despite his success Manuel-Maximos Holobolos because of his opposition to the proposed Union of the Churches was forced by the Emperor to relinquish his post in 1273 and was incarcerated in the monastery of Hyakinthos in Nicaea.

31. Holobolos, *Orationes*, II, pp. 95, 34-97, 7.

32. Krumbacher, *GBL*,<sup>2</sup> p. 773. On Gorianites see Sp. P. Lampros, 'Ἐπιγράμματα Θωμᾶ Γοριανίτου', *NH* 12 (1915), 435-38, esp. p. 435.

33. Ed. by Treu, Makrembolites, pp. 30-31; cf. Kourouses, *Glykys*, p. 337, n. 2. See also above p. 40 where it is suggested that Constantine Akropolites studied a preliminary course under Holobolos.

34. A. Vasiliev, *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. I, Moscow, 1893, p. 180: τοῦ δὲ χρῆστοιμίμου λαοῦ ὑπέρμαχος ἦν 'Ὁκλῶβολος μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ὧν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τριακόσιοι τριάκοντα ἔξ.

The following year on 6 October he was brought back to Constantinople, publicly mocked and insulted, and then exiled to the monastery of 'Megas Agros' near Sigriane on the sea of Marmora.<sup>35</sup> There he remained until the death of Michael VIII on 11 December 1282. He was certainly back in Constantinople in January 1283 for he was among those who demanded the prosecution of John Bekkos and all those who supported the Union. Holobolos was also present in the second synod of Blachernai in the summer of 1285 and it was he who opened the discussions.<sup>36</sup>

Describing these events Pachymeres refers to him as rhetor and there is evidence in the correspondence of George of Cyprus to suggest that he was reinstated in his office in the Patriarchal School after his return from exile. In a letter to Andronikos II in Asia Minor George of Cyprus asked the Emperor to send the rhetor of the Church back to Constantinople because his absence had affected the 'students of the Church' as no effective replacement could be found. There is no doubt that the rhetor mentioned in this letter, as being also assistant to the Patriarch Gregory, is Manuel Holobolos, who some time before had received a letter from the Patriarch himself which shows clearly that Holobolos was an influential person closely linked with the Patriarch.<sup>37</sup> That Holobolos was reinstated in his office of *rhetōr tōn rhetorōn* is also confirmed by four letters sent to him by Constantine Akropolites written during the 1290's.<sup>38</sup> This strongly suggests that the Patriarchal School continued to operate, although we have no detailed information concerning its activities in this period. But we do know from Nikephoros Gregoras that the Patriarch Gregory was intensely interested in the education of the clergy and during his patriarchate efforts were made to appoint educated clerics to bishoprics.<sup>39</sup>

35. Pachymeres, I, pp. 392-95; see also Gill, *Union of Lyons*, pp. 7-10, who dates these events in 1272. The monastery of *Megas Agros* was founded by Theophanes Homologetes; Sartori, *History of Science*, II, pp. 858-59.

36. Pachymeres, II, p. 25, 14 ff.; *ibid.*, II, p. 90, 7-18.

37. Eustratiades, *Kyprios*, No 137 (Lameere No 150), *EPh.* 4 (1909), 24-25: 'Ο τιμιώτατος ῥήτωρ καὶ ἐμοὶ θαυμαστῶς ἀγαπώμενος . . . καταλείψας ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν, καίπερ αὐτοῦ πᾶν πολλὰ εἰς καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τεχνῶν καὶ συνέτισιν χρηζούσαν . . . χρὴ τοίνυν τάχιστα αὐτὸν ἀπολύσαι, τοῦτο μὲν ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ μακρὸν τὰ τέκνα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας κάμνῃ, τροφὴν ζητοῦντα οἷαν οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἑσθίως εὗροι, τοῦτο δὲ ἵνα καὶ ἡμῖν συνδιατρίβων τῶν ἐν χειρὶ συναντιλαμβάνηται πόνων; cf. Laurent, *Regestes*, No 1527, p. 319. Holobolos is the addressee of three letters from George of Cyprus Nos 92, 96, 122 (Lameere Nos 95, 99, 135) of which the latter was written during his patriarchate (Lameere, *Tradition*, p. 200).

38. Ed. by Treu, *Makrembolites*, pp. 28-30; also by Kourouses, *Galesiotes*, pp. 370-71 (Nos 6, 7, 12, 37). Letter No 12 confirms that Holobolos held the title *rhetōr tōn rhetorōn*: *Τῷ ἐν φιλοσόφοις σοφῷ καὶ ῥήτορι τῶν ῥητόρων τῇν ἀξία[ν]*. For three more letters probably sent to him by Constantine Akropolites ca. 1296 see above p. 39; see also Appendix, Nos 66, 71, 73, pp. 164-65.

39. See above p. 49 and n. 95.

It was at this stage of his career that Holobolos was made *megas prōtosyngellos* though the exact date of this appointment is not known. That he held this office is certain since it is mentioned in some of his works<sup>40</sup> and in a letter addressed to him in 1299 by the Dominican Simon of Constantinople. That he continued to discharge his duties as a rhetor at the Patriarchal School while he held the office of *megas prōtosyngellos* is attested by the same letter which addresses him as *rhetōr tōn rhetorōn* and *prōtosyngellos*.<sup>41</sup>

A priest and monk Maximos *prōtosyngellos* and *archimandritēs* of the imperial church of the Archangel Michael, together with the interpreter George of Korony, represented Andronikos II in Venice and signed the Veneto-Byzantine treaty of October 1302.<sup>42</sup> It is well-known that the Byzantine Emperors employed educated men as their ambassadors, which leads one to suspect that this *prōtosyngellos* Maximos may have been Holobolos. Moreover the fact that Holobolos knew Latin and had translated Boethius into Greek would have made him an admirable imperial representative. If then the *prōtosyngellos* Maximos of the Venetian document is Maximos Holobolos this may well be the last known reference to him.<sup>43</sup>

Manuel-Maximos Holobolos' death has recently been placed in the first

40. See Philes, *Carmina*, II, pp. 373-75: τοῦ σοφωτάτου μεγάλου πρωτοσυγγέλλου κυροῦ Μαξίμου τοῦ 'Ολοβόλου στίχοι εἰς τὴν δόξαν Μαρίαν τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν; cf. I. Hilberg, *Eustathii Macrembolitae protonobilissimi de Hysmines et Hysminiae Amoribus Libri XI*, Vienna, 1876, p. 203: Εὐσταθίου τοῦ Μακρεμβολίτου Αἰνίγματα, τοῦ δὲ μεγάλου πρωτοσυγγέλλου, τοῦ φιλοσοφωτάτου καὶ ῥητορικωτάτου κυρίου Μαξίμου τοῦ 'Ολοβόλου λύσεις αὐτῶν; Treu, *Makrembolites*, p. 27. On the title of *prōtosyngellos* see V. Grumel, 'Titulature de Métropolités Byzantins', *EB* 3 (1945), 92-114, who pointed out that the title *megas prōtosyngellos* appears for the first time with Holobolos (*ibid.*, p. 108); see also Athenagoras Metropolitan of Paramythia, 'Ὁ θεσμός τῶν συγγέλλων ἐν τῷ Οἰκουμένικῳ Πατριαρχείῳ', *EEBS* 4 (1927), 3-38; cf. *CMH*, IV, ii, pp. 113-14. During the reign of Andronikos II the office of *megas prōtosyngellos* seems to have become an honorary title given to abbots and founders of monasteries (καλογερικὸν ἀφφίκιον); see Zepos, *JGR*, I, p. 682; Devreesse, *Codices*, III, p. 402; Darrouzès, *ΟΦΦΙΚΙΑ*, p. 575.

41. Simon sent four dogmatic letters to the Emperor Andronikos II, Holobolos and others which are still unedited in cod. Vat. Gr. 1104; Vat. Barber. 405; and Sinait. 1706; cf. A. Dondaine, 'Contra Graecos, Premiers écrits polémiques de Dominicains en Orient', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 21 (1951), 320-445, esp. pp. 405-406; Laurent, *Regestes*, No 1621, p. 415.

42. G. M. Thomas, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, Venice, 1880, pp. 13, 19.

43. Andronikos II employed the best scholars such as John Glykys, Theodore Metochites and Maximos Planoudes for political missions to impress the foreign rulers. See Gregoras, I, pp. 193, 22-194, 9, esp. p. 194, 2-9; Pachymeres, II, p. 243, 9-11; Planoudes, *Letters*, No 5, p. 11, 39-43; No 12, p. 22, 30; No 29, p. 48, 10-27; No 31, p. 51, 32; No 112, p. 152, 64; No 114, p. 159, 134. Given that at about that time the monastery of Akataleptos in Constantinople and that of St. Michael on Mt. Auxentios were united under a *megas prōtosyngellos* then the ambassador Maximos may well have been Maximos Planoudes who was resident at the Akataleptos monastery though we possess no evidence of him as *prōtosyngellos*. Therefore further evidence is needed for the identification of this imperial representative either with Holobolos or with Planoudes; see Devreesse, *Codices*, III, p. 402.

decade of the fourteenth century. That he went on with his teaching at the Patriarchal School until the very last days of his life is attested by the anonymous monody on him, attributed to George Galesiotes (1278/80-1357/?),<sup>44</sup> who was both a relative and a student of Holobolos.<sup>45</sup> And indeed he was possibly studying under Holobolos when in 1303 and 1304 he was sent by the Patriarch Athanasios to the imprisoned George Metochites. For Metochites reports that Galesiotes carried with him his notes from his course on higher education which suggests that he was still a student of Holobolos.<sup>46</sup>

Though Holobolos seems to have been a leading figure in the Patriarchal School where he taught intermittently over a long period there were other distinguished men who played an important role at the same period in this higher ecclesiastical institution. In February 1274 a *didaskalos tou Apostolou* was present at a synod and signed a document referring to the Union of the Churches.<sup>47</sup> Unfortunately we do not know who held the office at that time. But shortly after 19 February 1277 in a statement signed by the clerics of St. Sophia concerning the Union of the Churches George Pachymeres appears as *didaskalos tou Apostolou*, an office he may well have held in 1274.<sup>48</sup> Pachymeres may also have

44. Kourouses, Galesiotes, pp. 335-74, text pp. 349-54. Constantine Akropolites' letter (see above p. 56, n. 33) written most probably during the patriarchate of Niphon (1310-14) refers to Holobolos and George Akropolites as *παραδόμενοι σοφοί* and he may have died some time before this letter was written; cf. Kourouses, Glykys, p. 340, n. 1.

45. Kourouses, Galesiotes, p. 349, 17-21: τὰ γὰρ τῆς συγγενείας οὐκ ἂν ἴσως μειρακιενοίμην . . . καίτοι οἶσθα μὴ ἐγγὺς τοσοῦτον ὄντας τῷ γένει; *ibid.*, pp. 350-51, 62-63, 69-72; p. 353, 126-127: τί γὰρ δεῖ ζῆν, ὅπουται τις μήτε τὸν παιδεύοντα ἔχει μήθ' ὃ τῶν ἰδίων ἐν τῷ ἀνυπόπτῳ τὰ κριβδῶς πιστεύσοι.

46. A. Mai and J. Gozza-Luzi, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, X, I, Rome, 1905, p. 316; Galesiotes carried with him: *τετράδις τινα τῶν τῇ λογικῇ τέχνῃ σεμννομένων*. Galesiotes was also connected with the Patriarch Gregory of Cyprus whom he regarded as his benefactor (*εὐεργέτης*) and his hand appears on cod. Leidensis B.P.G. 49 and Mutinensis III C 3 (Gr. 82) containing works of George of Cyprus; cf. Kourouses, Galesiotes, p. 341, 15-16; *idem*, *Gabalas*, pp. 112-13, 190-91, 259. In fact the Patriarch sent a letter to a young Constantine Galesiotes who was probably a close relative to George Galesiotes (unedited in cod. Vat. Gr. 1085, No 206, Lameere, No 216); see above p. 46, n. 80.

47. For the edition of this document see A. Tăutu, *Acta Urbani IV, Clementis IV, Gregorii X (Codif. canon. orient. Fonti III, V, I)* Rome, 1953, pp. 124-27; J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XXIV, cols. 74-77; B. Roberg, *Die Union zwischen der griechischen und der lateinischen Kirche auf dem II. Konzil von Lyon (1274)* (Bonner Historische Forschungen, 24), Bonn, 1964, p. 256; Darrouzès, *ΟΦΘΙΚΙΑ*, p. 531; D. M. Nicol, 'The Greeks and the Union of the Churches: The Preliminaries to the Second Council of Lyons, 1261-1274', *Medieval Studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S. J.*, ed. J. A. Watt et al., Dublin, 1961, pp. 454-80, esp. p. 475. A certain Theodore Moschenos appears as *didaskalos τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν* in the Metropolitan of Smyrna in 1266 and 1269. Most probably he was a local teacher and his title does not seem to have any connection with the Patriarchal School; see MM, *Acta*, IV, p. 116; Ahreweiller, *Smyrne*, p. 117; Darrouzès, *ΟΦΘΙΚΙΑ*, p. 121.

48. Gill, Union of Lyons, p. 30; Laurent-Darrouzès, *Dossier*, p. 471; Darrouzès, *ΟΦΘΙΚΙΑ*, p. 532.

taught the Psalter and have written his scholia on the Psalms for this purpose. If so, this may indicate that at some stage earlier he was *didaskalos tou Psaltēros* since in the career of the Patriarchal School the chair of the Psalter normally preceded that of the Apostle.<sup>49</sup> Another professor mentioned in the same document of 1277 is Manuel Disypatos who signed as *didaskalos tou Psaltēros* and who may have succeeded Pachymeres at that post if in fact the latter ever held it. Four years later in August 1281 George Moschabar appears as *didaskalos tou Evangeliou*.<sup>50</sup> Although we do not possess any evidence of the exact time of their nomination it is certain that after Holobolos' exile in 1273 the Patriarchal School, as far as the ecclesiastical chairs were concerned, was reorganized on the model known to us from the twelfth century. All the above-mentioned professors were connected with the Great Church and very possibly actually taught in St. Sophia.<sup>51</sup>

On the *didaskalos tou Psaltēros*, Manuel Disypatos, nothing else is known and so far no work has been traced to him.<sup>52</sup> George Moschabar probably came from Palestine or Syria and may have completed his studies in the Empire of Nicaea. In 1281 he is styled in one of his works as *didaskalos tou Evangeliou*, a post he may well have held for some years as Fr. Laurent has suggested.<sup>53</sup> During the dispute for the Union of the Churches he circulated his anti-unionist libelli anonymously to escape punishment from the Emperor Michael VIII.<sup>54</sup> He took an active part in the condemnation of John Bekkos in 1285 when he held the office of *chartophylax* and later on he was a great opponent of the Patriarch Gregory of Cyprus and organizer of the campaign against him. Gregory refers to him as 'νηπιόφρων γέρων' which indicates that he was at least older than the Patriarch.<sup>55</sup> Five works, mostly polemical, have so far been traced to him, but

49. Pachymeres' scholia on the Psalms ed. by Balthasar Corderius, *Expositio Patrum Graecorum in Psalmos*, 3 vols., Antuerpiae, 1634-1646, I, p. 431; II, p. 236; III, p. 278.

50. See A. Zanetti, *Graeca d. Marci, Bibliotheca Codicum Manuscriptorum*, Venice, 1740, p. 85; cf. A. K. Demetrakopoulos, 'Ορθόδοξος Ἑλλάς, Leipzig, 1872, p. 60 and for the date p. 62: *Κεφάλαια ἀντιρρητικά κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Βέκκου δογμάτων τε καὶ γραμμάτων σταλέντα πρὸς πάσας τὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίας παρὰ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου Πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων κυρίου Γρηγορίου, γραφέντα δὲ ἀπὸ φωνῆς τοῦ διδασκάλου τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου κυρίου Γεωργίου τοῦ Μοσχάπαρος*.

51. Cf. Browning, *School*, p. 171.

52. On Disypatoi in general see Planoudes, *Letters*, p. 207. The former metropolitan of Thessalonike Manuel Disypatos is the addressee of a long letter in 1276 by a certain Kallistos but there is very little possibility that the *didaskalos tou Psaltēros* can be identified with the former metropolitan. See I. Sykoutres, 'Περὶ τὸ σχίσμα τῶν Ἀρσενιατῶν', *Hellenika* 3 (1930), 15-44, text pp. 17-26, who identified this Kallistos with Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (*ibid.*, pp. 28-34).

53. Laurent, Moschabar, pp. 129-58, esp. pp. 131, 133.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 135 and pp. 145-49. Fr. Laurent proved that one of his works was written in 1277/78; Beck, *Kirche*, pp. 677-78.

55. Eustratiades, Kyprios, No 178 (Lameere No 192), *EPh* 5 (1910), 344-46 to the metropo-

none of them seems to refer to his teaching.<sup>56</sup>

But while our knowledge on the teaching of the other ecclesiastical professors of the Patriarchal School is limited we have enough information about George Pachymeres (1242-ca.1310). He was born in Nicaea but he returned to Constantinople after the recovery of the capital in 1261. He had a distinguished career in the Church where he reached the office of *prōtekdikos* while in the imperial clergy he was given the office of *dikaiophylax*.<sup>57</sup> He studied in Nicaea (*ἐν Νικαίᾳ δὲ καὶ γεννηθεὶς καὶ τραφεὶς*) though he may have completed his studies in Constantinople.<sup>58</sup>

Pachymeres is best known for his history of the first fifty years of the Palaiologoi from 1258 to 1308. But apart from this he also wrote a number of works mostly related to his teaching. These can be divided into rhetorical, philological, mathematical, philosophical and theological.

His rhetorical works comprise *progymnasmata* which are examples according to the models established by Aphthonios and thirteen declamations on rhetoric.<sup>59</sup>

His philological works contain his scholia on Homer. Though Pachymeres' scholia on the Iliad are mentioned by his student Manuel Philes they have only recently been discovered by Turyn in cod. Ambros. Gr. 450 (I 4 sup.).<sup>60</sup> This manuscript contains the Iliad of Homer and the *Batrachomyomachia* together with scholia, and was copied by Meletios son of Neilos and two other scribes in

litan of Ephesos John Cheilas: ὁ ἄγροικος καὶ κοῦφος καὶ εὐήθης Μοσχά[μ]παρ, βαρβάρους τινὰς βλασφημίας καὶ νηπιώδεις ἐξηγήσεις εισφέρων τῇ θεολογίᾳ . . . 'Εγὼ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὸν νηπιόφρονα τουτονὶ γέροντα . . . ἀνενέργητος ἔχω διατελῶ . . . ὁ δὲ (i.e. Moschabar) χαλκεὺς καὶ κναφεὺς καὶ ῥάπτας καὶ σκυτεὺς καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ χειρονακτικοῦ βίου μετερχόμενος ἀνύσιμός ἐστι παρ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅ,τι καὶ βούλεται ὁρᾷ τοῦ ὁμοίου τῷ ὁμοίῳ προστρέχοντος.

56. Laurent, Moschabar, pp. 145-158; Beck, *Kirche*, 678.

57. Pachymeres, I, p. 11, 1-6. On Pachymeres see Fabricius, *BG*, VII, pp. 775-87; *DTC* XI, cols. 1713-18 by V. Laurent; Krumbacher, *GBL*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 288-91; Tatakis, *Philosophie*, pp. 239-40.

58. We do not know the exact relationship between Holobolos and Pachymeres. Pachymeres gives a detailed account of the two cases in which Holobolos was punished by Michael VIII and praises his Orthodoxy (Pachymeres, I, pp. 192, 20-193, 4 and I, pp. 392-94). The statement that Pachymeres was the student of George of Cyprus is not supported by any evidence (Ševčenko, *Metochites*, p. 19, n. 3).

59. Ed. Chr. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. I, Stuttgart, 1832, pp. 551-96. His declamations ed. by J. F. Boissonade, *Georgii Pachymeris Declamationes XIII*, Paris, 1848.

60. Pachymeres' scholia ed. by G. Dindorf, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem*, Oxonii, 1875; his connection with Homer is shown by his hexametric autobiography abstracts of which were included in his history (II, pp. 304, 15-305, 5 and p. 306, 12-21) as well as in Makarios Chrysokephalos' *ῥοδωνιά* (cod. Marc. Gr. 452 (*collocazione* 796), ff. 230-233. On this manuscript see J. B. G. d'Anse de Villosion, *Anecdota Graeca*, vol II, Venice, 1781, esp. pp. 4-79; see also Krumbacher, *GBL*,<sup>2</sup> p. 289; Turyn, *Dated Gr. MSS.*, pp. 23-25 and plates 12, 13. Another hexametric poem of Pachymeres on physics ed. by Bandini, *Catalogus*, III, cols. 385-86; cf. Moraux *et al.*, *Aristoteles Graecus*, p. 294.

1275/76.<sup>61</sup> We do not know if Pachymeres, who nearly a year later was *didaskalos tou Apostolou*, held the same office when these scholia were copied. They certainly, like the above-mentioned *progymnasmata*, seem more suitable for the branch of poetry and rhetoric of the Patriarchal School. On the other hand there is no evidence that Pachymeres taught rhetoric in the Patriarchal School or that he succeeded Holobolos in his teaching post when the latter fell into disfavour in 1273. Whatever the answer to these problems one thing is certain that in 1275/76 or some time earlier George Pachymeres, who may have held a chair in the Patriarchal School, wrote his scholia on Homer which were copied by a certain Meletios with the help of two other scribes. Since professors usually prepared their own scholia and commentaries on the classical authors they taught, it is perhaps reasonable to assume that this manuscript was not the property of Pachymeres but belonged to Meletios who copied it for his own use either because he was a student at the Patriarchal School or simply because he found it useful to possess a copy for his private studies.<sup>62</sup>

Pachymeres' mathematical works comprise fragments on astronomy, a paraphrase on the arithmetic of Diophantos and a manual on the *Quadrivium* or *σύνταγμα τῶν τεσσάρων μαθημάτων, ἀριθμητικῆς, μουσικῆς, γεωμετρίας καὶ ἀστρονομίας*. Though the work is mainly derivative it served as a text-book of higher mathematics not only for the Byzantines but also for the Italian humanists.<sup>63</sup>

Fr. Laurent suggested that Pachymeres composed his *Quadrivium* at the end of the thirteenth or the first years of the fourteenth century. He is probably right, though a deeper study of Pachymeres' work in connection with the mathematical works written at that time and especially the works of Planoudes, John

61. Turyn, *Dated Gr. MSS.*, p. 24: †'Η βίβλος | ἥδε τοῦ | Μελετίου τοῦ | Νείλου· γραφεῖσα | ἐν ἔτει ρ'ππδ̄ (i.e. A.D. 1275/76).

62. On the scribe Meletios see Vogel-Gardthausen, *Schreiber*, p. 329, who instead of *Μελετίου* read *μοναχοῦ*; Martini-Bassi, *Catalogus*, I, p. 541. Another manuscript written by Meletios has recently been identified. It is cod. Laur. Gr. 71, 3 containing Aristotle's *Categories* and *De Interpretatione* and various commentaries on Aristotle, see Moraux *et al.*, *Aristoteles Graecus*, pp. 223-27, esp. p. 226.

63. The fragments of Pachymeres' selected pieces on astronomy were edited by Th. H. Martin, *Theonis Smyrnaei Platonici Liber de Astronomia*, Paris, 1849, pp. 389-415. Pachymeres' paraphrase of Diophantos was ed. by P. Tannery, *Diophanti Alexandrini Opera Omnia*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1893-95 (*Teubner Series*), in vol. II, pp. 78-122 (Repr. in Pachymeres, *Quadrivium*, chapters 25-44, pp. 44-76). M. A. J. H. Vincent published a section from his arithmetic in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, vol. 16, Paris, 1847, seconde partie, pp. 364-83 and the whole of harmonics, *ibid.*, pp. 384-553. We can assume that Pachymeres' *Quadrivium* was used by the Italian humanists from the number of manuscripts made at the time. For the description of these manuscripts see his *Quadrivium*, pp. XXXVIII-LVII. The more important ones are: cod. Paris. Gr. 2438 copied by John Sanktamavras in 1594 for Lailius Rouinius; cod. Paris. Gr. 2339 copied in 1540 by Angelus Vergetius and Constantine Palaioikappa; cod. Rossianus XI, 130 copied in 1575 by John Raseos.



Pediasimos and Manuel Bryennios is necessary before any final conclusion is reached.<sup>64</sup>

His philosophical works comprise a summary of the philosophy of Aristotle which is still only partly edited, though a complete Latin translation exists.<sup>65</sup>

Apart from the above-mentioned scholia on the psalms Pachymeres' theological works comprise a paraphrase of the writings of pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite, made at the request of Athanasios Patriarch of Alexandria which is mostly based on the scholia of St. Maximos the Confessor.<sup>66</sup>

Pachymeres' major works refer mostly to secular education and it would be interesting to know if his office of *dikaiophylax* in the service of the Emperor had anything to do with his teaching.<sup>67</sup> In two manuscripts containing his *Quadrivium*, Pachymeres appears with the title *μεγάλος διδάσκαλος* but we do not know if this has any connection with his official duties as teacher.<sup>68</sup>

Undoubtedly Pachymeres was a distinguished figure in secular as well as in theological learning, commanding the respect of his contemporaries, not only as a scholar and a teacher but above all as a man.<sup>69</sup> The feelings of his contemporaries are clearly reflected in the funeral poem recited at his tomb by his student Manuel Philes who emphasized the qualities of his rhetoric, the beauty of his

64. See Laurent's preface on Pachymeres, *Quadrivium*, p. XXX. In fact an unpublished letter of Constantine Akropolites speaks of the composition by a friend of a manual on mathematics and philosophy. The letter may have been sent to George Pachymeres and was probably written at the time suggested by Laurent. See Appendix, No 101, pp. 165-66.

65. Ed. Arsenios of Monembasia, Venice, 1532; the summary on Aristotle's *Organon* was printed in Paris, 1548 (Paris, 1581, Oxford, 1669); Latin translation of the whole work was published by Philippus Becchius, *Georgii Pachymeri hieromnemonis in universam fere Aristotelis philosophiam epitome* etc. Basel, 1560. For the manuscripts in which this work is preserved see War-telle, *Inventaire*, (*passim*).

66. See above p. 60 and n. 49; PG vols. 3 and 4. For his proem to the Patriarch Athanasios of Alexandria see vol. 3, cols. 108-16; M. Aubineau, 'Georges Hiéromnemon ou Georges Pachymères, Commentateur du Ps. Denys?', *J. Th. S.* 22 (1971), 541-44; Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie*, pp. 30-31 and p. 124; A. Failler, 'Le séjour d'Athanase II d'Alexandrie à Constantinople', *REB* 35 (1973), 43-71, esp. pp. 63-71.

67. Pachymeres may have succeeded Theodore Skoutariotes in the office of *dikaiophylax* some time after 1277 when the latter became bishop of Kyzikos. See Ralles-Potles, *Syntagma*, vol. 5, p. 327; Gill, *Union of Lyons*, p. 30; Laurent-Darrouzès, *Dossier*, p. 471; Darrouzès, *ΟΦΦΙΚΙΑ*, p. 532; Pachymeres, II, pp. 53-54. He may have succeeded Stephanos Panaretos in the office of *prōtekdikos* some time after 1285 when Pachymeres was still *hieromnēmōn*. See Laurent, Blachernes, p. 148; Darrouzès, *ΟΦΦΙΚΙΑ*, p. 533. On *dikaiophylax* see *ibid.*, pp. 109-110 and on *prōtekdikos* see pp. 323-32.

68. See Pachymeres, *Quadrivium*, p. XXXIX and p. LII. In fact the Paris. Gr. 2338 is a copy of Angelicus 38 (c. 3. 7) (*ibid.*, p. LIX) and according to E. Stephanou its title was written by a fifteenth or early sixteenth century hand (*ibid.*, p. LII); see also *ibid.*, p. XXIX.

69. The portrait of Pachymeres preserved on cod. Monac. Gr. 442, f. 6<sup>v</sup> was reproduced in his *Quadrivium*; H. Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft*, Heidelberg, 1970, pp. 24 ff., 90 ff., fig. 49; I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, Leiden, 1976, pp. 165-72, figs. 106-107, 111a, 113a.

language and spoke of his commentaries on Homer and Aristotle.<sup>70</sup> Pachymeres' death was a great loss but already the preparatory work for the Palaiologan 'Renaissance' had been accomplished.

From this brief survey of the first forty-five years of the life of the Patriarchal School the following points emerge. The re-established Patriarchal School never reached either the standard or the vast proportions and complex organization which this institution had enjoyed in the twelfth century. In the Empire of Nicaea, apart from the efforts of Blemmydes to reinstate theological studies in his isolated school, no official attempts seem to have been made for the re-establishment of the Patriarchal School. This broke the continuity and later efforts to regain the standards which this institution had enjoyed before were only partially fulfilled.<sup>71</sup> What makes it difficult, however, to assess the quality and method of teaching is that so very few works relating to the actual teaching of theology have survived. Whether this dearth of material in fact indicates that very few works were composed at the time is difficult to tell. They may in fact simply not have survived. On the other hand the existence of works relating to secular education, as those of Holobolos and Pachymeres, perhaps suggest that after all few works referring to ecclesiastical education were written or compiled. On the whole the teachers of theology may have satisfied themselves with using textbooks compiled by previous generations. Any reluctance to produce new textbooks may perhaps be explained by the fact that this period, apart from constant minor ecclesiastical disputes, was dominated by the controversy over the Union of Orthodox and Catholic Churches as well as by the Arsenite schism, which started in the early 1260's and extended for nearly half a century.<sup>72</sup> There was also a lack of co-operation between the Patriarch of Constantinople and the professors of the Patriarchal School as can be seen from the relations of the *didaskalos tou Evangeliou* George Moschabar with the Patriarch of Jerusalem Gregory and those of George Pachymeres with the Patriarch of Alexandria Athanasios.<sup>73</sup> In other words theological talent was diverted to writing pamphlets and polemical tracts instead of thinking out and compiling new teaching material for the next generation of clerics. This was in accord with the traditionalist attitude of

70. Ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Georgii Pachymeris Declamationes XIII*, Paris, 1848, pp. 253-60; also by Miller, Philes, *Carmina*, II, pp. 400-405; see esp. vv. 18-44; vv. 6-7; v. 47; v. 59; v. 89; vv. 91-95.

71. Blemmydes says that both the Emperor and the Patriarch wanted to take over his school but we do not know if they intended to create a theological school; see Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 74, 7-9.

72. George of Cyprus reports in his autobiography that during the dispute for the Union of the Churches he had fears for his life to write anything as so many did (Lameere, *Tradition*, p. 187, 20-22). Though this can hardly refer to writing scholarly works it may refer to theological writings.

73. See above p. 60, n. 50 and p. 63, n. 66.

the Church since Byzantine theology on the whole followed its early teachings and in that sense there would have been ample material to teach its new students without the need for seeking new approaches.

On the other hand there may be profound reasons for this apparent dearth of new theological material for the teaching of students attending the Patriarchal School. The best of the scholars who were appointed to theological chairs seem to have been primarily interested in secular knowledge, so that when they had discharged their official duties, which entailed the exegesis of the Gospel, the Epistles and the Psalter during the liturgy, they were free to pursue their own intellectual interests. Their surviving works indicate that, as exponents of secular knowledge, they taught various subjects. They may even have acted as private tutors though we possess no specific evidence for this. That this was possible is suggested by the case of Blemmydes' tutor, Prodromos, who studied under the *oikoumenikos didaskalos* Constantine Kaloethes in the late twelfth century, and also by that of Manuel Philes who was a student of Pachymeres. Evidently Pro-dromos provided Blemmydes with a secular and not religious education and the interests of Philes were mainly in poetry rather than in theology.<sup>74</sup> This ambivalent role of the teachers of the Patriarchal School may perhaps indicate that the preponderant trend among Byzantine intellectuals was directed towards a humanist development so that the Church lost most of its best scholarly talent to secular intellectual pursuits.

74. See above p. 8. Though Philes prepared a poetical commentary on the Psalms his main intellectual output is his poems; see British Museum Add. Ms. 17473, f. 166 ff; M. Richard, *Inventaire des manuscrits Grecs du British Museum*, Paris, 1952, p. 28. Philes' poems ed. by Miller, Philes, *Carmina*, I-II; A. Martini, *Manuelis Philae carmina inedita*, *Atti della R. Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti*, vol. XX Supplemento, Naples, 1900; M. Gedeon, 'Μανουήλ τοῦ Φιλῆ ἱστορικὰ ποιήματα', *EA* 3 (1883), 215-20; 244-50; 652-59; I. Sakkelion, 'Μανουήλ Φιλῆ τοῦ Ἐφεσίου στίχοι ἀνέκδοτοι', *ΔΙΕΕΕ* 3 (1890), 315-16.

## CHAPTER IV

### HIGHER EDUCATION IN CONSTANTINOPLE (1282-ca.1310)

#### PART I

#### THE TEACHING ACTIVITIES OF MAXIMOS PLANOUDES

The accession to the throne of Andronikos II in December 1282 marked a decisive turning point for Byzantium. The Union with the Catholic Church was renounced and a new spirit for co-operation between the State, the Church and the people was established.<sup>1</sup> The men who surrounded Andronikos II were all ardent Orthodox and had intellectually distinguished themselves. The most prominent of them were the two scholars, Theodore Mouzalon, the grand logothete<sup>2</sup> and George of Cyprus, oecumenical Patriarch.<sup>3</sup> These were supported by a new generation of educated men who filled both state and ecclesiastical posts. Under such conditions Byzantine higher education seems to have enjoyed a most favoured position.

In this intellectually rich milieu the monk Maximos Planoudes was to dominate secular education. From an early age he was destined for the civil service, which he entered after completing his secular education, but he suddenly abandoned all prospects of a successful career and dedicated himself to a life of scholarship within the confines of a monastic life. He remained aloof from political and ecclesiastical affairs and by devoting himself entirely to learning he succeeded not only in becoming the most erudite and prolific writer of this period but also in opening new paths and arousing fresh interest in a number of subjects which had hitherto remained neglected.

Little is known about Planoudes' role in the controversy over the Union of the Churches. However, during the reign of Michael VIII Planoudes did not oppose the Union of Lyons (1274). On the contrary his translation of St. Augustine's *De Trinitate* seems to have reinforced the arguments of the unionists.<sup>4</sup>

1. Pachymeres, II, pp. 14-25; Gregoras, I, p. 160.

2. Pachymeres, II, p. 12, 9-12 and p. 15, 3-6. For Mouzalon see above p. 36.

3. Pachymeres, II, p. 42, 15-18.

4. *Ibid.*, II, p. 29, 7-19. Though no date for this translation exists it seems likely that it was prepared during Michael VIII's reign. Valoriani suggested that this translation was made in 1281 without giving any evidence; S. Valoriani, 'Massimo Planude traduttore di S. Agostino', in *Atti dell' VIII Congresso internazionale di studi bizantini* (Palermo 3-10 April 1951), I, Rome, 1953 (= SBN 7), 234; Schmitt, *Lateinische Literatur in Byzanz*, p. 131.

Furthermore, in a poem he wrote for Theoktistos of Adrianople on 10 April 1283 when Planoudes was still a civil servant he refers to him as a supporter of the true dogma. Since a few days later Theoktistos was condemned as a unionist in the first synod of Blachernai this may further suggest that Planoudes was perhaps inclined towards their views.<sup>5</sup> But whether Planoudes was a sincere supporter of the Union, or whether he had acted at the orders of Michael VIII is difficult to decide. He certainly supported the Orthodox point of view in his later writings. He even rejected St. Augustine whom he himself had translated into Greek, thus arousing the anger of Demetrios Kydones who accused him for his change of heart.<sup>6</sup> Planoudes' anti-Latin treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit as well as a similar work written by his student Manuel Moschopoulos were attacked by the unionist George Metochites.<sup>7</sup>

Planoudes was not the only official who became a monk after the accession to the throne of Andronikos II. We know of others such as the *prōtonotarios* Theodosios Saponopoulos;<sup>8</sup> and if Melchisedek Akropolites, a close friend of Planoudes, is to be identified with Manuel Akropolites then he too became a monk some time after the second council of Blachernai (1285) where he signed as *epi tōn gonatōn*.<sup>9</sup> Why all these people left their offices to become monks is not known. It is possible that either their former political role or the great confusion created at that period by the strict anti-unionists and the Arsenites may have convinced them to do so. Planoudes himself in a letter to Alexios Philanthropenos confessed that he was afraid to deal with theological problems and he did so only when it was most necessary.<sup>10</sup> He also speaks in two other letters of

5. V. Laurent, 'Un théologien unioniste de la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, le métropolite d'Andri-nople Théoctiste', *REB* 11 (1953), 187-196; *idem*, *Regestes*, Nos 1456, 1463, 1614. For the edition of this poem see Planoudes, *Letters*, p. 204, esp. line 10; cf. Kougeas, *Planudea*, p. 106 ff. In cod. Mosquensis Musei Historici Gr. 315 (olim S. Synodi, Matthaei CCCII; Vladimir 441) containing this poem we read on f. 440<sup>r</sup>: *Εἰς νομοκάνονον ὅπερ ἔγραψεν ὁ Πλανούδης, ὃς καὶ γράφει τάδε· ὁ τήνδε γράφας τὴν βίβλον γράφει τάδε κατὰ μῆνα 'Απρίλιον ἱ ἐν ἔτει ,ζψζα'.* For a description of this codex see L. G. Westerink, *Arethae Archiepiscopi Caesariensis Scripta Minora*, vol. I, Leipzig, 1968, pp. IX-XIII.

6. PG 161, col. 312BC. See also Laurent in *DTC*, XII, 2247-52. Laurent believes that Planoudes was intimidated into writing his anti-Latin work after 1283; cf. S. Runciman, *The last Byzantine Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1970, pp. 59-60.

7. PG 141, cols. 1275-1307; cf. Planoudes, *Letters*, p. 211.

8. Pachymeres, II, p. 25, 15-17. Saponopoulos is the addressee of five letters from George of Cyprus (Eustratiades Nos 63, 64, 65, 80, 86) (Lameere Nos 63, 64, 65, 80, 86). Saponopoulos was most probably earlier called Theophylaktos and it is very possible that it is he who copied the *Theriaka* of Nicander surviving in cod. Vat. Gr. 305 on 23 March the twelfth indiction (1269?). See Mercati-Cavaliéri, *Codices*, pp. 443-50. Probably the monk Theodosios of Constantine Akropolites' letter No 22 is also Saponopoulos, ed. H. Delehaye, *AB* 51 (1933), 272.

9. Gill, Council of Lyons, p. 30; Laurent-Darrouzès, *Dossier*, p. 471; Laurent, *Blachernes*, p. 148; Darrouzès, *ΟΦΘΙΚΙΑ*, pp. 532-33. See now Trapp, *Lexikon*, I, No 523, p. 50.

10. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 113, p. 154, 42-43: *νῦν δὲ θεολογικός, ὅπερ ἐγὼ μάλιστα πάν-*

an embassy to the Armenians of Cilicia for religious matters and refers to the machinations of those who dislike him and who are ready to accuse him of conversion to the Armenian or Catholic dogma. But with God's help, as he says, he has avoided both the embassy and the trouble.<sup>11</sup>

Of his early life as a monk our knowledge is limited. It was some time between April 1283 and 1292 that he left the civil service to become a monk either in Constantinople or elsewhere though the exact time as well as the monastery in which he took his vows are still unknown. In one of his letters Planoudes speaks of his own monastery of the Five Saints on Mt. Auxentios in Bithynia given to him in *pronoia* by the bishop of Chalkedon. From the content of this letter, however, it seems that Planoudes had been a monk for some time and the fact that the monastery or rather the *phrontistērion* was in a ruined state indicates that it had been recently donated to him in a dilapidated condition and could hardly have been the place where he entered the monastic estate.<sup>12</sup>

Scholars have suggested that Planoudes' school was housed in the monastery of the Chora and if this suggestion is correct one might be inclined to suspect that he had also become a monk there, since he seems to have been a teacher before he became a monk and continued as such thereafter.<sup>13</sup> Wendel for instance, drew this conclusion from three pieces of evidence: a letter of Planoudes where he mentions the monastery of the Chora, a second letter of his where he speaks of an imperial monastery where he lived and a note in Latin in a Vatican manuscript stating that that manuscript belonged to the philosopher Maximos of the monastery of the Chora. We will examine these arguments in turn.

The first letter is addressed to the *exarchos* and logothete Phapes. Planoudes asked him for a favour on behalf of a monk who was the brother of Planoudes' servant and who lived in the monastery of the Chora. But the fact that this monk lived in the monastery of Chora and was a brother of Planoudes' servant does not necessarily mean that Planoudes also lived in the same monastery.<sup>14</sup> Planou-

των δέδοικα καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε τοῦτω πρόσειμι πλὴν <ὕπ' add. Ziegler> ἀνάγκης; cf. Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), col. 2204. It seems that most of the scholars of the thirteenth century such as Nikephoros Blemmydes, George Akropolites and George of Cyprus had no great success in their theological writings or beliefs.

11. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 112, pp. 152-53, 64-85; *ibid.*, No 114, p. 159, 134-142. Dated in 1296, *ibid.*, pp. 264, 265, 270; Laiou, *Observations*, p. 94, dates these letters after 3 April 1295.

12. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 24, p. 40, 3-5, p. 41, 25-30. It is possible that this bishop of Chalkedon is Theognostos who signed a synodical document on 2 June 1294. See Laurent, *Regestes*, No 1565, pp. 353-54.

13. Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), cols. 2208, 2252; Manaphes, *Bibliothekai*, p. 56; Ševčenko, *Metochites*, pp. 37, 41.

14. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 70, p. 88, 7-10: ὁ παρὼν ἡμέτερος παῖς ἀδελφῷ κέχρηται πρὸς ἱερωσύνην ἐκ παιδῶν ἡγμένῳ δὲν οἱ τῆς μονῆς τῆς χώρας μονασταὶ καὶ ἀνέθρεψαν καὶ ἐπαίδευσαν. Phapes is most probably identified with John Phapes who signed as *hypomimnēskōn* in the synodical documents of 1277 and 1285; see Gill, *Union of Lyons*, p. 30; Laurent-Darrouzès, *Dossier*, p. 471; Darrouzès, *ΟΦΦΙΚΙΑ*, pp. 531-32; Laurent, *Blachernes*, p. 148.

des' second letter is addressed to the *prōtovestiarios* Theodore Mouzalon *ca.* 1292/93 asking for financial support for the imperial library of the monastery in which he lived. The name of the monastery is not mentioned in this letter. However, it has been suggested that it was the monastery of the Chora which had been an imperial foundation since the time of Justinian.<sup>15</sup> And scholars were encouraged in this assumption by the note in cod. Vat. Gr. 177, our third piece of evidence: this contains Ptolemy's Geography which was among the works edited by Planoudes. The note written in elegant Latin letters reads:

*Claudii Ptolemei liber geographie et est p(ro)p(ri)us d(omi)ni Maximi philosophi greci ac monaci monasterio Chore in Constantinop(o)li emptus a quodam Andronico Yneote.*<sup>16</sup>

The evidence, however, is not conclusive, since it is impossible at this stage to be certain whether '*Maximus philosophus*' is in fact Planoudes. Perhaps one should approach the problem by trying to identify Andronikos Oinaiotes with any of the known Oinaiotai, and by trying to find out why the note was ever written in Latin.

Nor can we accept for certain the argument recently put forward that Planoudes moved from Chora to Akataleptos on the grounds that an autograph manuscript (cod. Paris. Gr. 1671), which was in Chora almost a century later, is a proof that Planoudes left it behind when he moved from Chora to Akataleptos.<sup>17</sup> This is no more than a probability. On the other hand it is very possible that this manuscript, after Planoudes' death, was transferred to Chora by the powerful grand logothete Theodore Metochites when he refounded the monastery in about 1316-1321.<sup>18</sup> In so far as Planoudes' correspondence is concerned there is no evidence that he ever lived in Chora or that he had moved from Chora to Akataleptos in the 1290's. If there were such a move one would have expected Planoudes to have mentioned it in his letters which are full of details of his life.

On the other hand we cannot be certain that he had never lived in Chora either, since he seems to have had connections with various monasteries in Constantinople which he mentions in his letters, such as the monastery of Pante-

15. Gregoras, I. p. 459: *ἐδομήθη γὰρ αὕτη τὸ ἀρχαῖον πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ*; cf. Planoudes, *Letters*, p. 247.

16. Mercati-Cavalieri, *Codices*, p. 204. For the Oinaiotai of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries see Kourousses, *Gabalas*, pp. 106-107. I am indebted to David Tomason who lent me his microfilm of this codex. For the meaning of *philosophos* see F. Dölger, 'Zur Bedeutung von *φιλόσοφος* und *φιλοσοφία* in byzantinischer Zeit', *Byzanz und die Europäische Staatenwelt*, Ettal, 1953, pp. 197-208; I. Ševčenko, 'The definition of philosophy in the life of Saint Constantine', *Essays for Roman Jakobson*, The Hague, 1956, pp. 449-57.

17. Ševčenko, *Metochites*, pp. 41-42 and notes 172, 173, 175.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29. For the library of the monastery enriched by Metochites and others see *ibid.*, pp. 36-37 and notes 139-41.

poptes,<sup>19</sup> the monastery of Philanthropenos or Philanthropou Soterios,<sup>20</sup> the monastery of Peribleptos,<sup>21</sup> the church of St. John the Baptist in the Blanga.<sup>22</sup> Moreover he seems to have been resident in the monastery of Akataleptos where he taught at least from September 1299 if not earlier. For by that time he had completed and subscribed on fol. 122<sup>v</sup> at that monastery his autograph manuscript (cod. Venet. Marc. Gr. 481) containing mainly the so-called Planoudean Anthology and Nonnos of Panopolis paraphrase of the Gospel of St. John:

† ἐγράφη ἡ μετάφρασις αὐτῆ τοῦ κ(α)τ(ὰ) Ἰω(άννην) ἀγίου εὐαγγελίου. χειρὶ Μαξίμου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Πλανοῦδη· ἐντὸς(ς) Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. | κ(α)τ(ὰ) τὴν μονὴν τοῦ σ(ωτῆ)ρ(ο)ς Χ(ριστο)ῦ. τὴν τοῦ Ἀκαταλήπτου ἐπονομαζομένην· μηνὶ σεπτ(εμβ)ρ(ίῳ)· ἰν(δικτιῶνος) ιγ· ἔτους ρω' δεκ(ά)τ(ου).<sup>23</sup>

A higher school seems to have existed in the Akataleptos monastery at least since the 1270's under George of Cyprus. But though Planoudes seems to have been one of the teachers at the Akataleptos school there is no evidence so far to suggest that he had succeeded George of Cyprus when the latter became Patriarch in March 1283.

Certain details about Planoudes' school can be gleaned. He lived in an imperial monastery (βασιλική μονή)<sup>24</sup> where an imperial library (βασιλική βιβλιοθήκη)<sup>25</sup> existed. Unfortunately, since it seems that there were a number of imperial monasteries in Constantinople, we cannot identify it. The details about this imperial library are contained in Planoudes' letter to Mouzalon. Since these are of great interest to us and throw light on a number of issues it would be worthwhile to look at them more closely. This imperial library was housed in a large building and possessed a considerable number of books which had been collected there from all parts of the Empire and catalogued probably after 1261. When Planoudes wrote his letter to Mouzalon ca. 1292/93 the library had suffered greatly. Many books which had been borrowed were never returned to the shelves as one could find easily by comparing the old and the new catalogues, while others had been destroyed for lack of repair. Planoudes made two suggestions

19. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 115, pp. 160-61, 25-31.

20. *Ibid.*, No 99, p. 130, 36; see also *ibid.*, p. 260.

21. *Ibid.*, No 68, p. 86, 33-34.

22. *Ibid.*, No 31, p. 51, 21-22.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 182, 189; Kougeas, *Münchener Thukydides*, pp. 588-609, plate at the end of text; Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 91 and plate 231C; the year A. M. 6810 corresponds to the 15th indiction and the 13th indiction recorded here was A. M. 6808 (i.e. Sept. 1299) which seems to be the original date of the completion of this manuscript corrected later by Planoudes; cf. C. Callavotti, 'Planudea', *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione della Edizione Nazionale dei Classici Greci e Latini*, N. S. fasc. VII (1959), 30, no. 10; Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, pp. 91-92.

24. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 28, p. 44, 16.

25. *Ibid.*, No 67, p. 83, 55, 60.



for the restoration of the library. First to make the librarian responsible to the *prōtovestiarios* and the Emperor so that he could keep a better control over the books leaving and entering the library. Secondly, the books affected by time could be repaired at a small expense contributed by a member of the imperial service. Otherwise he insisted that these books which were in poor state would very soon fall apart.<sup>26</sup> To drive the point home Planoudes, who claimed to be a specialist in book binding, sent to Mouzalon a manuscript in disrepair, the *sphairika* of Theodosios, and a collective volume he had repaired and bound together containing the works of Diophantos, the arithmetic of Nikomachos, the harmonics of Zosimos and the *epitomē* of the canon of Euclid.<sup>27</sup> He seems to have asked Mouzalon for money to reorganize the imperial library in the capacity of a man in the service of the Emperor rather than as a scholar monk living in that monastery. His teaching therefore was most probably connected with an imperial institution.<sup>28</sup> Planoudes seems to have been allowed to choose if not all at least some of his students. He did not accept for instance a student recommended to him by the *logothetēs tou dromou* John Glykys, the future Patriarch, because his standard was lower than that demanded by Planoudes. He hoped, however, to teach him in the near future after the young man had completed a preliminary course under another teacher.<sup>29</sup> Planoudes promised also his friend Phakrases to become teacher of his son John whose guardian he was during his father's absence in Thessalonike in 1299. John was at that time going through his elementary education.<sup>30</sup> From these sparse details it becomes apparent that Planoudes' school was an institution providing for higher education.

Planoudes seems to have started his teaching as a layman as early as 1280, the year in which he completed a collection of hexametric poetry, undoubtedly for teaching purposes. In the copying of this collection he was assisted by six other scribes. He revised it on a number of occasions over a long period of time. It was just before he completed his final revision that he took his holy vows as

26. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 67, pp. 83-84, 54-102; cf. C. Wendel, 'Planudes als Bücherfreund', *ZfB* 58 (1941), 82-84.

27. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 67, p. 82, 41-42: *τοῦτο γὰρ τῆς ἐμῆς τέχνης τὸ ἰδιαίτατον*; and p. 84, 102-111. C. Wendel, 'Planudes als Bücherfreund', *ZfB* 58 (1941), 80-81.

28. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 121, p. 179, 20-23: *ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ παρὴν καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐκαμπτόμην . . . σὺ μὲν ἐπεμπες εἰς βασιλέα τὸν παῖδα τῆς ἐκεῖ παιδεύσεως μεθέξοντα καὶ ἀναγωγῆς*.

29. *Ibid.*, No 23, p. 40, 9-14: *ἴν' οὖν μὴ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐλπίζων ὁ φίλτατος ἡμῖν εἰργηται τῆς ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν ἐπιδόσεως, αὐτὸς μὲν τὰ νῦν παρ' ἑτερον φοιτάτω· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ εἰσέπειτα φροντιῶ περὶ τούτου· ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἐθέλῃ καὶ καιροῦ λάβωμαι, οὐκ ἂν ἀμελὴς γενοίμην τῷ νέῳ διδάσκαλος, καὶ πάντως ἐλπίζω γενήσεσθαι*. There is no evidence to suggest that this young student recommended by Glykys is his son Basil who some time later appears to be a student of Theodore Hyrtakenos (see below p. 94).

30. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 8, p. 16, 29-45.

a note on folio 8<sup>v</sup> indicates:<sup>31</sup>

† εἴληφε καλῶς ἡ βίβλος αὕτη πέρας  
τοῦ πρὶν Μανουὴλ ἀρτίως δὲ Μαξίμου  
θ(εὸ)ν βοηθὸν τῇδε συγκεκτημένον:†

These six scribes may well have been the first known students of Planoudes since in later years we know that he used to employ his students in the writing of his various manuscripts.

It is during the 1280's that Planoudes, who most probably started his career as a teacher of grammar, poetry and rhetoric, may have composed most of his writings related to these subjects which have not been dated so far. For one of his students and assistants, Manuel Moschopoulos, had already prepared some of his editions *ca.* 1290.<sup>32</sup> If this general impression is correct then Planoudes' scholarly activities were not interrupted after he became a monk.

By the end of the 1280's Planoudes seems to have turned his interest to astronomy. The manuscript Edinburgh Adv. 18. 7. 15 of the National Library of Scotland, containing Cleomedes, Circular Theory of the Stars and Aratos, *Phainomena* with scholia and subsidiary texts has marginal notes by Planoudes. A note on fol. 54<sup>v</sup> speaks of a lunar eclipse on 21 August 1290 which date, as has been suggested, may be taken as *terminus ante quem*:

† τῷ 25<sup>η</sup> ἔτει τῇ κα' αὐγούστου νυκτὸς(ς) εἰς κβ', γέγονεν ἔκλειψις σελήνης |  
μ(ε)τ(ὰ) τὸ μεσονύκτιον μέχρι πρωτῆς.<sup>33</sup>

At about the same period *ca.* 1292/93 Planoudes was involved in the study of mathematics and he had completed his arithmetical works on the Indian Calculus and on the Arithmetic of Diophantos. An autograph of Planoudes survives in cod. Ambros. Gr. & 157 sup. This manuscript contains fragments of the *Ψηφοφορία κατ' Ἰνδοῦς ἢ λεγομένη μεγάλη* and Diophantos of Alexandria books I-II

31. Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, pp. 28-39. A note on fol. 296<sup>r</sup> reads: † μηνὶ σεπτ(εμβ)ρ(ίῳ) α' ἐν(δικτιῶνος) θ' - ἔτους 25<sup>η</sup> ( = A.D. 1280). Two 14th century hands replaced on this manuscript lost folios or inserted Planoudean works. For the best description of this manuscript see C. Gallavotti, 'Planudea', *Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione della Edizione Nazionale dei Classici Greci e Latini*, N.S., 7 (1959), 25-50, esp. pp. 37-48.

32. Turyn, *Euripides*, p. 118; *idem*, *Sophocles*, p. 16 and n. 3. See also below p. 104.

33. I. C. Cunningham, 'Greek Manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland', *Scriptorium* 24 (1970), 367 ff. and plate 24. A scholium written by Demetrios Triklinios in this Edinburgh Manuscript on fol. 105<sup>r</sup> shows clearly the well-known fact of 'Triklinios' familiarity with the Planoudean edition of Aratos; cf. Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. XVII. Planoudes emended three pieces of the text of Aratos following the view of Ptolemy: (a) vv. 481-486; (b) vv. 501-506; (c) vv. 515-524. The alterations of Planoudes were ed. by J. Martin, *Histoire du texte des phénomènes d'Aratos*, Paris, 1956, pp. 295-299. For the Planoudean manuscripts on Aratos see *ibid.*, pp. 247-255; *idem*, *Scholia in Aratum Vetera*, Stuttgart, 1974 (*Teubner Series*), pp. VII-IX. For the Triklinian work on Aratos based on Planoudes see *ibid.*, pp. XXIX-XXXIII.

with scholia of Maximos Planoudes.<sup>34</sup> He adopted the zero (ζίφρα) in his Indian Calculus though he may have known an earlier manuscript ἀρχὴ τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Ἰνδικῆς ψηφοφορίας dated from 1251/52 and deriving probably from the West.<sup>35</sup>

Planoudes speaks in his correspondence about the Indian Calculus. He had borrowed from George Bekkos a book containing the Indian Calculus and spent most of his day in studying and copying it. As he was nearing the end of this work he wished to add a chapter on the square roots and asked his addressee if he possessed any book referring to the subject.<sup>36</sup> Planoudes did actually add some elaboration of his own on the finding of the square root.<sup>37</sup>

Planoudes' interest in Diophantos is also indicated in his correspondence. He seems to have copied Diophantos from a manuscript which existed, together with other mathematical texts, in the imperial library of his monastery when Theodore Mouzalon asked for this manuscript.<sup>38</sup> Planoudes repaired and bound some mathematical works together in one volume before sending the collective volume to Mouzalon in Asia Minor ca. 1292/93.<sup>39</sup> The collective manuscript

34. Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, pp. 78-79. On f. 14': σχόλ(ια) τοῦ Πλανούδ(η) κερ(οῦ) Μαξίμ(ου).

35. Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), cols. 2210-13; *CMH*, IV, ii, pp. 274-75; Nicol, *Learning*, p. 31; On the term ψηφοφορία and ψῆφος see M. K. Stephanides, 'Τὰ μαθηματικά τῶν Βυζαντινῶν', *Ἀθηνᾶ* 35 (1923), 216, n. 3 and pp. 216-18 for this work.

36. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 46, pp. 65-66, 36-44: τὸ δὲ πλεόν εκάστης ἡμέρας, ἐξ οὗ τὴν βίβλιον ἦν ἴστε παρ' ὑμῶν ἐχρησάμην, ὁ κατ' Ἰνδοὺς ἀριθμὸς δαπανᾷ καὶ θεοῦ διδόντος ἤδη τὸ πᾶν ἤνυσται. καί με οὐδὲν διέδρα τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ, πλὴν καὶ ταῦτα προσθεῖναι τῇ γραφομένη μοι βούλομαι βίβλῳ· πῶς, οὐτινοσοῦν ἀριθμοῦ δοθέντος μὴ τετραγώνου, τὸν ἔγγιστα τούτου δυνατὸν εὐρεθῆναι τετραγώνον; καὶ ἔτι· πῶς οὐτινοσοῦν ἀριθμοῦ τετραγώνου δοθέντος, τὴν αὐτοῦ πλευρὰν εὐρεῖν οἶόντ' ἂν γένηται; εἰ δὴ ταῦτα τῶν ὑμετέρων που βιβλίων ἐντέτακται . . . γράψαντες πέμψετε. George Bekkos was probably earlier an official of the Church and signed a synodical document in 1277 as *primikērios iōn patriarchikōn notarion*; see Gill, *Union of Lyons*, p. 30; Laurent-Darrouzès, *Dossier*, p. 471; Darrouzès, *ΟΦΘΙΚΙΑ*, p. 532. He may have been promoted to *megas oikonomos* at a later time and is probably identical with Bekkos, the addressee of Nikephoros Gregoras; see Gregoras, *Correspondence*, No 69, p. 103 and p. 382, ed. by J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, III, Paris, 1831, p. 193, included in PG 149, col. 605CD; cf. Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, pp. 79-80. Constantine Akropolites' letter No 92 was sent to a *megas oikonomos*, probably Bekkos; see cod. Ambros. H 81 sup. ff. 303<sup>r-v</sup>. A note in cod. Vat. Gr. 207 indicates that George Bekkos was a son-in-law of Theodore Xiphilinos who was *megas oikonomos* of the Great Church in the 1260's and 1270's; see Mercati-Cavalieri, *Codices*, pp. 249-50; Trapp, *Lexikon*, II, No 2547, p. 51. On Xiphilinos see above p. 23 and n. 123.

37. See C. I. Gerhart, *Das Reichenbuch des Maximus Planudes*, Halle, 1865, pp. 29-47: Περὶ εὐρέσεως τετραγωνικῆς πλευρᾶς παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ; Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 80 who dates this letter to George Bekkos ca. 1292/93.

38. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 67, p. 82, 31-34: ἡ δὲ Διοφάντου βίβλος, ἣν ἀνάγκη τε ἀποπέμπειν ἦν—καὶ τὰ γράμματα τοῦτ' αὐτὸ κελεύοντα ἦν—ἐπανήκει νῦν ἐκ τῶν πάλαι ἐντίδων ἡβῶσα.

39. *Ibid.*, No 67, p. 84, 106-111: κίνδυνος. δν ὁ Διόφαντος εὐ ποιῶν δι' ὑμᾶς τό γε νῦν εἶναι διέδρα· συμπαράπηλυνσε δ' αὐτῷ τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ ἀριθμητικῆ Νικομάχου κατὰ πολλὴν περιουσίαν εὐρωτιῶσα· καὶ Ζωσίμου τινὸς ἀρμονικῆ διατύπωσις· καὶ ἦν Εὐκλείδης ἐν βραχεὶ τοῦ κανόνος κατατομὴν παρέδωκεν, εἰς ἐν τεύχος ἅπαντα συναφθέντα. See above p. 71 and n. 27.

is now most probably codex Matritensis 4678 (formerly No 48).<sup>40</sup> Some time later Planoudes asked Manuel Bryennios to lend him his book of Diophantos, because he wanted to collate it with his own copy which shows clearly that he continued working on this manuscript.<sup>41</sup>

At about 1294-1296 Planoudes edited the works of Plutarch which survive in two autograph manuscripts: the cod. Ambros. Gr. C 126 inf. and cod. Paris. Gr. 1671. The Ambrosianus contains Plutarch, *Moralia* 1-69 and it was written by ten scribes *ca.* 1294/95. One of them was evidently John Zarides, a pupil of Planoudes.<sup>42</sup> Most probably some of the remaining eight scribes—Planoudes was the tenth scribe and editor—were also students of Planoudes. This manuscript has been successfully dated by Turyn on the basis of Planoudes' correspondence with two of his closest friends, Alexios Tarchaneiotes Philanthropenos and Melchisedek Akropolites. For in a letter to Philanthropenos, Planoudes spoke of his intention to copy the books of Plutarch and requested parchment of a specific size.<sup>43</sup> Philanthropenos answered that he would send him parchment soon and Planoudes replied that he needed it urgently.<sup>44</sup> However, it seems that the first consignment of parchment Philanthropenos sent was stolen by pirates and a second despatch followed.<sup>45</sup> He refers to the stolen parchment in

40. Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), col. 2228; C. Wendel, 'Planudes als Bücherfreund', *ZfB* 58 (1941), 81. This identification was questioned by Browning, *Recentiores*, p. 13.

41. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 33, p. 53, 7-10: *καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν Διοφάντου βιβλίον—ἀντιβαλεῖν ἐξ αὐτῆς γὰρ βουλόμεθα τὴν ἡμετέραν—ἐφ' ἡμερῶν ὧσων δὴ σοι βουλομένῳ τυγχάνει προσομοία πέμψεις ἡμῖν;* Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 80, dates this letter *ca.* 1292/93.

42. See fol. 238<sup>r</sup>: *μ(η)τερ θ(εο)ῦ βοήθει μοι τῷ ἀμαρτωλῷ Ἰω(άν)ν(η) τῷ Ζαρίδῃ†*; cf. Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 83 and plates 66, 230e. John Zarides was one of the ten scribes (E) who wrote in 1321 in Thessalonike cod. Ven. Marc. Gr. XI, 6 (*collocazione* 1142) containing mainly Strabo, Geography; see *ibid.*, p. 140.

43. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 106, p. 142, 36-45, dated early in 1295, *ibid.*, pp. 251, 263: *ἐμοὶ δ' ἔδοξε τὰ τοῦ Πλουτάρχου γράψαι βιβλία· πάνν γάρ, ὡς οἶσθα, τὸν ἄνδρα φιλῶ. δεῖ τοίνυν ἔχειν μεμβράνας· αἱ δὲ εἰσι παρὰ μὲν ἡμῖν, οὐ πάνν χρησταί· εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡμῖν εὐπορία πρὸς γε τὸ πρῆσθαι. μανθάνω δὲ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτόθι πάνν τε ἀγαθὰς γίνεσθαι, καὶ σοίγε πρῆσθαι βουλευθέντι οὐκ ἂν ἀπορία πρόφασις γένοιτο. εἰ δὴ τούτων μέλλομεν ἔξειν, καὶ τὸ τῶν τετραδῶν ἐπέμψαμεν μέτρον, ὡς δύο τοιαῦτα τὴν μεμβράνην ποιεῖν. τὸν μέντοι τούτων ἀριθμόν, πόσος ἂν εἴη, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀποστολῆς τάχος τῇ σῇ καταλιμπάνω φιλοτίμῳ καὶ εὐγενεῖ προαιρέσει. See now Laiou, *Observations*, p. 94, who dates this letter after 3 April 1295. Laiou seems not to have considered the demands of Planoudes for parchment nor the unpublished letters of Constantine Akropolites in the dating of Planoudes' letters. Therefore we refer to Treu's dating which is more relevant on these sectors and we give side by side the new dating which seems sometimes to be erroneous.*

44. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 78, p. 99, 37-42, dated early in 1295, *ibid.*, p. 251: *σὺ δὲ μοι πέμψειν ὅσον σῆπω δοράς ἐκ τῶν τῆς λείας προβάτων γράφεις· δ καὶ αὐτὸς οἶδα αἰτήσας, ἐμοὶ δὲ τοσαύτη περὶ τὰ σὰ λάφυρα ἐντέτηκεν ἀπληστία, ὥστ' οὐ μόνον προβάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρων ἡβουλόμην δοράς καὶ κεφαλὰς δεῦρο πεμπομένας ἰδεῖν, εἰ μὴ τὸ σὸν εἶργε φιλάνθρωπον. Laiou, *Observations*, p. 93, dates this letter in 1294.*

45. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 109, p. 145, 10-11, dated in 1295, *ibid.*, p. 263: *ὡς δὴ καὶ νῦν*

another letter to Melchisedek from which we are informed that it was Melchisedek who undertook to send the parchment which had been stolen.<sup>46</sup>

Apart from Philanthropenos, Planoudes commissioned Melchisedek Akropolites who was at that time a monk in Asia Minor to buy him parchment. In a letter to him Planoudes asked urgently for parchment in two sizes, large and small, giving the exact measurement.<sup>47</sup> Melchisedek seems to have provided Planoudes with parchment made up of donkey's hide which he regarded as useless.<sup>48</sup> In another letter to Melchisedek Planoudes speaks of the parchment he promised to send him.<sup>49</sup> But whether Melchisedek, who died in June 1296, was in fact able to do so is not known.<sup>50</sup> Whatever the case, Planoudes completed and inscribed the second parchment volume of Plutarch which contains his *Lives* and *Moralia* 1-69, (the present Paris. Gr. 1671, the largest size Plutarch), on 11 July 1296.<sup>51</sup>

The Planoudean cod. Venet. Marc. Gr. 481 is another known dated autograph manuscript of Planoudes. He subscribed this manuscript in 1299 but he kept correcting it at least up to 1301/1302 as the emended date indicates.<sup>52</sup> Planoudes' value as editor of an anthology was to rearrange Constantine Kephala's work in books and chapters according to subject matter and alphabetic order.<sup>53</sup> A direct transcript of the Marcianus was made before this Venice manuscript took its final form which is now in London, British Museum Additional 16409 and has some corrections made by Planoudes himself.<sup>54</sup>

The great importance of the Planoudean anthology is shown by the great

ἐπιστέλλεις, πεπομφέναι μὲν ἐμοὶ μεμβράνας τὸν φίλον, εἰληφθαι δὲ πρὸς τῶν πειρατῶν. Laiou, *Observations*, p. 92, dates this letter in the winter 1293-94.

46. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 86, p. 111, 94-96, dated in 1295, *ibid.*, p. 256: δ' δ' ὁ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς Δούκας (i.e. Philanthropenos) περὶ τινῶν προβατείων ἐπέστειλέ μοι δερμάτων, ὅπερ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐμοὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς πειραταῖς πέπομφας. Laiou, *Observations*, p. 92, dates this letter in the winter 1293-94.

47. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 100, p. 135, 3-25, dated in 1295, *ibid.*, pp. 253, 260, where the very details of the request are given. Laiou, *Observations*, p. 97, n. 21, says that this letter was probably written before Nos 109, 86.

48. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 95, p. 123, 20-27, dated in 1295, *ibid.*, p. 258. Laiou, *Observations*, p. 97, n. 21, says that this letter was written after No 85; cf. Wilson, *Books and Readers*, p. 2.

49. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 115, p. 161, 35-37, dated in 1296, *ibid.*, pp. 253, 265: τὰς μεμβράνας οὕτω μὲν ἐδεξάμην, καίτοι πύλαι ἡλπίζοντο καὶ σὺ ταύτας ἡμῖν ἐπηγγέλλον· εἴη δ' ἂν τῆς ὑμετέρας σπουδῆς, εἰ ταύτας κομισόμεθα θᾶπτον. Laiou, *Observations*, p. 97, n. 21, says that this letter was written after No 85.

50. See cod. Ambros. Gr. H 81 sup. f. 289<sup>r</sup>.

51. Omont, *Manuscripts grecs datés*, p. 14, plate 67-68; cf. Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 82.

52. See above p. 70, n. 23.

53. Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), cols. 2236-2239; Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 91.

54. A. Turyn, 'Demetrius Triclinius and the Planudean Anthology', *EEBS* 39-40 (1972-73), 404, 417-19. This manuscript is written in two columns in a black ink. Planoudean corrections were made in a lighter dark ink and can be seen for instance on folios 4<sup>r</sup>, 7<sup>r</sup>, 9<sup>r</sup>, 23<sup>v</sup>, 48<sup>v</sup>, 76<sup>v</sup>.

number of manuscripts in which it has survived as well as by the fact that it was the only known collection of epigrams and minor poetry of Classical and Byzantine Greek language until the discovery by Salmasius in 1607 of the eleventh-century Palatine Anthology (the present ms. Palat. Heidelberg Gr. 23 + Paris. Suppl. Gr. 384).<sup>55</sup>

It was probably at this period about 1300 that Planoudes prepared his scholia on Thucydides, the present cod. Monac. Gr. 430, as we can assume from his note on fol. 11<sup>v</sup> referring to the death of Theodora Raoulaina on 6 December 1300. This copy of Thucydides was probably used as a text-book in Planoudes' school. His great concern for this author is indicated by another manuscript of Thucydides (cod. Casselanus Ms. hist. f. 3) dated in 1302, which, as has been suggested, was corrected by Planoudes.<sup>56</sup>

It was no doubt for teaching purposes that Planoudes prepared his major works on the geography of Ptolemy and his compilatory book on harmonics. But while there are suggestions for the identification of the former work among the surviving manuscripts of Ptolemy's geography, the latter seems to have been lost since the time of Planoudes.

That Planoudes was intensely interested in Ptolemy is seen by his letter to Philanthropenos in 1295 where he speaks of his intention to copy Ptolemy's work.<sup>57</sup> Planoudes also says that he rediscovered Ptolemy's geography after it had long lain in oblivion.<sup>58</sup> Most probably the manuscript of Ptolemy he discovered had no maps and he may have been responsible for their reconstruction.<sup>59</sup> The γεωγραφικὸν πινάκιον of the area of Thessalonike possessed by Planoudes had most probably nothing to do with his edition of Ptolemy.<sup>60</sup> However, it

55. For a discussion of the manuscripts of the Planoudean Anthology up to 1494 when the *editio princeps* was made in Florence by Janus Laskaris see Turyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 403-450, esp. pp. 404, 415, 429, 433-34, 443; *idem*, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 95.

56. Kougeas, *Münchener Thukydides*, pp. 588-609; Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), col. 2223; B. Hemmerdinger, *Essai sur l'histoire du texte de Thucydide*, Paris, 1955, pp. 45-46; cf. *JHS* 77 (1957), 329; A. Kleinlogel, *Geschichte des Thukydidestextes im Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1965, pp. 6-7.

57. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 119, p. 171, 166-170, for the dating *ibid.*, p. 266; Laiou, *Observations*, pp. 95-97, dates this letter in the second half of 1295; cf. Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), cols. 2228-30.

58. Kougeas, *Planudea*, pp. 115-118; Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), col. 2229: Στίχοι ἡρωϊκοὶ εἰς τὴν γεωγραφίαν Πτολεμαίου χρόνοις πολλοῖς ἀφανισθεῖσαν, εἶτα δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ πόνοις πολλοῖς εὐρεθεῖσαν. Ed. by J. Iriarte, *Regiae Bibliothecae Matritensis Codices manuscripti Graeci*, Madrid, 1769, p. 262, from cod. Matrit. 72.

59. Planoudes, *Letters*, pp. 203-204: τοῦ ἀγνωτάτου καὶ σοφωτάτου κυροῦ Μαξίμου τοῦ Πλανούδη εἰς τὸ διάγραμμα τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, ὃ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῆς βίβλου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, μὴ παρὰ τινος λαβὼν ἀρχάς, διενόησατο καὶ διέγραψεν; cf. Kougeas, *Planudea*, p. 116.

60. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 86, p. 110, 66; cf. Kougeas, *Planudea*, p. 115 ff.; Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), col. 2229. This letter was written before No 119 where Planoudes' intention to copy Ptolemy is mentioned; cf. Laiou, *Observations*, pp. 92, 95. See above p. 75, n. 47 and n. 59.

shows the great interest he had in geography which might have been one of the subjects he laboriously rediscovered and enthusiastically taught.

A. Diller who studied the manuscript tradition of Ptolemy claimed that he had discovered the very manuscripts of Ptolemy written in the Planoudean milieu and that these manuscripts contain the oldest surviving maps of Ptolemy which Planoudes had reconstructed.<sup>61</sup> He suggested that the personal copy of Planoudes was the thirteenth-century manuscript cod. Seragliensis 57 while a copy of this was made for the Emperor Andronikos II, the present Vat. Urbinas 82. He even identified one of the two hands of Seragliensis which appears also in Fabricianus 23 in Copenhagen containing only one bifolium of Ptolemy's geography and in Paris. Gr. 1393 of Strabo which was employed also by Planoudes.<sup>62</sup> Referring to the two late thirteenth-century Vatican manuscripts (cod. Vat. Gr. 177 and cod. Vat. Gr. 191) which contain also Ptolemy's geography he ascribed them to a different branch. And considering the lack of maps in these manuscripts he maintains that even if the former was once in the possession of Planoudes it was acquired after he had completed his work on Ptolemy.<sup>63</sup>

There have been those, however, who, without discussing Diller's suggestion, have supported and continue to support the view that the Ptolemy manuscript which was written in the Planoudean milieu is the Vat. Gr. 177, the manuscript with the Latin note speaking of the philosopher Maximos of the monastery of the Chora.<sup>64</sup> But it seems that much more research is needed before a final answer is given to this problem.

Another subject in which Planoudes showed great interest was music or harmonics. He had collected nearly all the works written about music in a volume some time in or before 1294.<sup>65</sup> He worked diligently to copy a great part of this work and correct his own book on harmonics which he used for his teaching of music in his school.<sup>66</sup> However, a certain monk called George or Arsenios Auto-

61. A. Diller, 'The Vatopedi Manuscript of Ptolemy and Strabo', *American Journal of Philology* 58 (1937), 174-84; *idem*, 'Lists of provinces in Ptolemy's Geography', *Classical Philology* 34 (1939), 228-38; *idem*, 'The Oldest Manuscripts of Ptolemaic Maps', *TAPA* 71 (1940), 62-67, with three plates after p. 66, esp. pp. 66, 67.

62. A. Diller, 'The Oldest Manuscripts of Ptolemaic Maps', *TAPA* 71 (1940), 62, 63, 66.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 67, notes 16 and 17.

64. Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), cols. 2229; Ševčenko, *Metochites*, p. 22, n. 24.

65. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 68, p. 86, 46-48: οὐκ ἀνεπίφθορον γάρ, εἰ τοιαύτης ἀμελήσαιμεν βιβλίον, μικροῦ πάντας ὅσους ἂν περὶ μουσικῆς συντεταχότας εὗροι τις συνειληφνῆς; εἰς ἓν. This letter is dated in 1294, *ibid.*, p. 245; see also *ibid.*, No 64, p. 78, 24-28.

66. *Ibid.*, No 68, p. 85, 25-28; see also *ibid.*, No 64, p. 78, 24-30: οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς τυχεύσεως βιβλίον στερόμεθα, ἀλλ' οἷαν δὴ μίαν οὐδεμίαν εὗροι τις ἂν τὴν οἰκουμένην περιῶν. καὶ οὐ λέγω μεγέθει, οὐδ' αὖ κάλλει· ἀλλ' ὅτι πάντας ὡς εἰπεῖν ὅσοι περὶ μουσικῆς καὶ ὅτι οὖν συντετάχασιν εἶχεν εἰς ταῦτό συλλαβοῦσα, τῆς ἐμῆς ἔργον φιλοπονίας. πρόσθε δὲ καὶ τῷ πλεονί τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔφερε πόνον χειρῶν; see also *ibid.*, No 64, p. 78, 8-10: τίνα γὰρ ψυχὴν ἔχοντες μεταδώσομεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων τινί; εἰ γὰρ ὁ σοφὸς σὺ μὴ ἀπέδωκας. Laurent suggested that this Autoreianos can

number of manuscripts in which it has survived as well as by the fact that it was the only known collection of epigrams and minor poetry of Classical and Byzantine Greek language until the discovery by Salmasius in 1607 of the eleventh-century Palatine Anthology (the present ms. Palat. Heidelberg Gr. 23 + Paris. Suppl. Gr. 384).<sup>55</sup>

It was probably at this period about 1300 that Planoudes prepared his scholia on Thucydides, the present cod. Monac. Gr. 430, as we can assume from his note on fol. 11<sup>v</sup> referring to the death of Theodora Raoulaina on 6 December 1300. This copy of Thucydides was probably used as a text-book in Planoudes' school. His great concern for this author is indicated by another manuscript of Thucydides (cod. Casselanus Ms. hist. f. 3) dated in 1302, which, as has been suggested, was corrected by Planoudes.<sup>56</sup>

It was no doubt for teaching purposes that Planoudes prepared his major works on the geography of Ptolemy and his compilatory book on harmonics. But while there are suggestions for the identification of the former work among the surviving manuscripts of Ptolemy's geography, the latter seems to have been lost since the time of Planoudes.

That Planoudes was intensely interested in Ptolemy is seen by his letter to Philanthropenos in 1295 where he speaks of his intention to copy Ptolemy's work.<sup>57</sup> Planoudes also says that he rediscovered Ptolemy's geography after it had long lain in oblivion.<sup>58</sup> Most probably the manuscript of Ptolemy he discovered had no maps and he may have been responsible for their reconstruction.<sup>59</sup> The γεωγραφικὸν πινάκιον of the area of Thessalonike possessed by Planoudes had most probably nothing to do with his edition of Ptolemy.<sup>60</sup> However, it

55. For a discussion of the manuscripts of the Planoudean Anthology up to 1494 when the *editio princeps* was made in Florence by Janus Laskaris see Turyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 403-450, esp. pp. 404, 415, 429, 433-34, 443; *idem*, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 95.

56. Kougeas, Münchener Thukydides, pp. 588-609; Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), col. 2223; B. Hemmerdinger, *Essai sur l'histoire du texte de Thucydide*, Paris, 1955, pp. 45-46; cf. *JHS* 77 (1957), 329; A. Kleinlogel, *Geschichte des Thukydidestextes im Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1965, pp. 6-7.

57. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 119, p. 171, 166-170, for the dating *ibid.*, p. 266; Laiou, *Observations*, pp. 95-97, dates this letter in the second half of 1295; cf. Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), cols. 2228-30.

58. Kougeas, *Planudea*, pp. 115-118; Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), col. 2229: Στίχοι ἡρωϊκοὶ εἰς τὴν γεωγραφίαν Πτολεμαίου χρόνους πολλοὺς ἀφανισθεῖσαν, εἶτα δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ πόνοις πολλοῖς εὗρεθεῖσαν. Ed. by J. Iriarte, *Regiae Bibliothecae Matritensis Codices manuscripti Graeci*, Madrid, 1769, p. 262, from cod. Matrit. 72.

59. Planoudes, *Letters*, pp. 203-204: τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου καὶ σοφωτάτου κυροῦ Μαξίμου τοῦ Πλανούδη εἰς τὸ διάγραμμα τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, ὃ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῆς βίβλου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, μὴ παρὰ τινος λαβὼν ἀρχάς, διενόησατο καὶ διέγραψεν; cf. Kougeas, *Planudea*, p. 116.

60. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 86, p. 110, 66; cf. Kougeas, *Planudea*, p. 115 ff.; Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), col. 2229. This letter was written before No 119 where Planoudes' intention to copy Ptolemy is mentioned; cf. Laiou, *Observations*, pp. 92, 95. See above p. 75, n. 47 and n. 59.



shows the great interest he had in geography which might have been one of the subjects he laboriously rediscovered and enthusiastically taught.

A. Diller who studied the manuscript tradition of Ptolemy claimed that he had discovered the very manuscripts of Ptolemy written in the Planoudean milieu and that these manuscripts contain the oldest surviving maps of Ptolemy which Planoudes had reconstructed.<sup>61</sup> He suggested that the personal copy of Planoudes was the thirteenth-century manuscript cod. Seragliensis 57 while a copy of this was made for the Emperor Andronikos II, the present Vat. Urbinas 82. He even identified one of the two hands of Seragliensis which appears also in Fabricianus 23 in Copenhagen containing only one bifolium of Ptolemy's geography and in Paris. Gr. 1393 of Strabo which was employed also by Planoudes.<sup>62</sup> Referring to the two late thirteenth-century Vatican manuscripts (cod. Vat. Gr. 177 and cod. Vat. Gr. 191) which contain also Ptolemy's geography he ascribed them to a different branch. And considering the lack of maps in these manuscripts he maintains that even if the former was once in the possession of Planoudes it was acquired after he had completed his work on Ptolemy.<sup>63</sup>

There have been those, however, who, without discussing Diller's suggestion, have supported and continue to support the view that the Ptolemy manuscript which was written in the Planoudean milieu is the Vat. Gr. 177, the manuscript with the Latin note speaking of the philosopher Maximos of the monastery of the Chora.<sup>64</sup> But it seems that much more research is needed before a final answer is given to this problem.

Another subject in which Planoudes showed great interest was music or harmonics. He had collected nearly all the works written about music in a volume some time in or before 1294.<sup>65</sup> He worked diligently to copy a great part of this work and correct his own book on harmonics which he used for his teaching of music in his school.<sup>66</sup> However, a certain monk called George or Arsenios Auto-

61. A. Diller, 'The Vatopedi Manuscript of Ptolemy and Strabo', *American Journal of Philology* 58 (1937), 174-84; *idem*, 'Lists of provinces in Ptolemy's Geography', *Classical Philology* 34 (1939), 228-38; *idem*, 'The Oldest Manuscripts of Ptolemaic Maps', *TAPA* 71 (1940), 62-67, with three plates after p. 66, esp. pp. 66, 67.

62. A. Diller, 'The Oldest Manuscripts of Ptolemaic Maps', *TAPA* 71 (1940), 62, 63, 66.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 67, notes 16 and 17.

64. Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), cols. 2229; Ševčenko, *Metochites*, p. 22, n. 24.

65. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 68, p. 86, 46-48: οὐκ ἀνεπίφθορον γάρ, εἰ τοιαύτης ἀμελήσαιμεν βιβλόν, μικροῦ πάντας ὅσους ἂν περὶ μουσικῆς συντεταχότας εὔροι τις συνειληφνῆς εἰς ἓν. This letter is dated in 1294, *ibid.*, p. 245; see also *ibid.*, No 64, p. 78, 24-28.

66. *Ibid.*, No 68, p. 85, 25-28; see also *ibid.*, No 64, p. 78, 24-30: οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς τυχεύσεως βιβλόν στερόμεθα, ἀλλ' οἷαν δὴ μίαν οὐδεμίαν εὔροι τις ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ περιῶν. καὶ οὐ λέγω μεγέθει, οὐδ' αὖ κάλλει· ἀλλ' ὅτι πάντας ὡς εἰπεῖν ὅσοι περὶ μουσικῆς καὶ ὅτιοῦν συντετάχασιν εἶχεν εἰς ταῦτό συλλαβοῦσα, τῆς ἐμῆς ἔργον φιλοπονίας. πρόσθε δὲ καὶ τῷ πλεονί τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔφερε πόνον χειρῶν; see also *ibid.*, No 64, p. 78, 8-10: τίνα γὰρ ψυχὴν ἔχοντες μεταδώσομεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων τινί; εἰ γὰρ ὁ σοφὸς σὺ μὴ ἀπέδωκας. Laurent suggested that this Autoreianos can

reianos who was living at that time in the monastery of Peribleptos borrowed Planoudes' book of harmonics and never returned it.<sup>67</sup> After Autoreianos had left the capital Planoudes together with other monks of the monastery of Peribleptos entered his cell but although some books had been left there his own was missing.<sup>68</sup> Planoudes speaks of the same volume of harmonics lent to Autoreianos in a letter to Philanthropenos(?) dated in 1294.<sup>69</sup> A year later he again asked Philanthropenos to trace his book on harmonics either by approaching Autoreianos or his brother who were both monks in or near Nymphaion.<sup>70</sup> But although this autograph of Planoudes is still missing he succeeded in rousing the interest of his contemporaries in the study of harmonics. Theodora Raoulaina prepared her own copy on the subject and sent it for corrections to him while George Pachymeres and Manuel Bryennios wrote the best surviving Byzantine works on the subject probably shortly after.<sup>71</sup>

The works which have been discussed above represent only a small part of Planoudes' works which covered nearly every sector of Byzantine learning. He wrote on grammar and rhetoric. He mastered and wrote on every kind of metre. He edited and commented on a wide range of classical texts which extend from poetical to historical, mathematical and astronomical texts. He prepared compilatory works useful for a school of higher education and he even translated Latin authors into Greek. Deserving mention also are his theological works which comprise homilies, polemical dogmatic writings and encomia of saints and his correspondence which is a mine of information for the cultural life in Byzantium during the last decade of the thirteenth century.<sup>72</sup>

We can deduce Planoudes' teaching interests from his own writings as well as from those of his students. In his curriculum he included grammar, poetry and metre, rhetoric, higher mathematics (i.e. arithmetic, music, geometry, astronomy), geography, philosophy and perhaps medicine. Not only did he teach these subjects but also he wrote his own text-books on them. His grammatical works comprise a dialogue in grammar (*γραμματικῆς διάλογος*) between Palaitimos and Neophron in the form of question and answer;<sup>73</sup> a work on syntax

be probably identified with the future bishop of Pergamon Arsenios (1295-ca.1315) who copied the Anonymous commentary on Nikomachos of Gerasa (unpublished) in cod. Ambros. H 58 sup. and subscribed it on f. 115<sup>r</sup>; see V. Laurent, 'Le métropolitain de Pergame Arsène, mélode et polémiste antilatin', *REB* 15 (1957), 123-30; cf. Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, pp. 88-90 and plate 70.

67. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 64, p. 78, 6-7: ἐχρήσω μὲν γὰρ παρ' ἡμῶν τὴν ἀρμονικὴν, ἀπέδωκας δ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον, ἢ ὁ μηδέποτε μηδὲν ἀφείλων ἡμῖν.

68. *Ibid.*, No 65, p. 79, 3-6; No 68, p. 86, 33-37.

69. *Ibid.*, No 65, pp. 79-80. For its dating *ibid.*, p. 240.

70. *Ibid.*, No 106, p. 142, 30-35. For the dating of this letter see above p. 74, n. 43.

71. See above p. 44 and below pp. 96-97.

72. For bibliography and a discussion of Planoudes' works up to 1950 see Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), cols. 2208-2249, which is still of great value.

73. Ed. L. Bachmann, *Anecdota Graeca* II, Leipzig, 1828, pp. 1-101.

(*Περὶ συντάξεως τῶν τοῦ λόγου μερῶν*),<sup>74</sup> a work on the transitive and intransitive verbs (*Περὶ μεταβατικῶν καὶ ἀμεταβάτων ρημάτων*);<sup>75</sup> a brief dictionary of the Attic expression (*Ἀττικισμοί*).<sup>76</sup>

In his teaching of poetry one may include his editions and commentaries on Pindar (Olympians, Pythians, Nemeans 1-6),<sup>77</sup> his edition of the works of Hesiod and his scholia on *Erga* (1-749),<sup>78</sup> his scholia on Sophocles (Ajax, Electra, O. Tyrannus),<sup>79</sup> his scholia on Euripides (Hecuba, Orestes, Phoenissae).<sup>80</sup> He edited Nonnos' hexametric paraphrase of the Gospel of St. John<sup>81</sup> and the Dionysiaka of the same author. Planoudes' edition of Nonnos' Dionysiaka, with the exception of a fragment in a papyrus in Berlin No 10567 of the seventh century, is our earliest source on this work and all other manuscripts derive from Planoudes.<sup>82</sup> The same applies to his edition of Tryphiodoros, Capture of Troy.<sup>83</sup> Both works survive in his autograph cod. Laur. Gr. 32, 16. He wrote also an Idyllium in 270 hexameters modelled on those of Theocritus whom he also edited.<sup>84</sup>

74. Ed. L. Bachmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-166.

75. Ed. G. Hermann, *De emendenda ratione graecae grammaticae*, (1801), pp. 391-421.

76. Ed. by J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. I, Paris, 1829, pp. 408-409. For another dictionary attributed to Planoudes and preserved in cod. Ferrara II 155, f. 182<sup>r</sup> ff. (A.D. 1336/37), see now Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 188.

77. Irigoin, *Pindare*, pp. 247-69.

78. Planoudean scholia are to be found in Neapol. II. F. 9 (Cyrillus 165); see Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), cols. 2220-21.

79. Turyn, Sophocles Recension, pp. 114-119. Turyn speaks of three manuscripts which exhibit the Planoudean authorship: cod. Neapol. II. F. 9 (Cyrillus 165); Ambros. Gr. N 166 sup.; Bremen Staatbibliothek b. 23, all of the fourteenth-century. These scholia were edited by G. Dindorf, *Scholia in Sophoclis tragoedias septem ex codicibus aucta et emendata*, vol. II, Oxonii, 1852; see now O. Longo, *Scholia Byzantina in Sophocles Oedipum Tyrannum*, Padova, 1976, pp. 95-164, where the scholia of Planoudes are published separately.

80. Turyn, *Euripides*, pp. 53-82. Ed. by G. Dindorf, *Scholia graeca in Euripidis tragoedias ex codicibus aucta et emendata*, vols. I-III, Oxonii, 1863; see also Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), col. 2221.

81. *Editio princeps* by Martinus Iuvenis, Paris, 1556 (other editions Paris, 1561, Lugduni Batavorum, 1589); A. Scheindler, *Nonni Panopolitani paraphrasis S. Evangelii Ioannei*, Leipzig, 1881 (*Teubner Series*).

82. Ed. A. Ludwich, *Nonni Panopolitani Dionysiaka*, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1909-11 (*Teubner Series*). Earlier editions by Gerarti Falkenburgi, *Nonni Panopolitae, Dionysiaka, nunc primum in lucem edita* etc. Plantini, 1569; (Other editions Hanoviae, 1605, 1610; Heidelberg, 1809). For Planoudes' interventions and interpolation in the text of Nonnos see Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), cols. 2222-23; Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, pp. 28-39 and plates 17, 18.

83. A. Ludwich, *Tryphiodorea, Progr. Regimontii*, 1895; G. Weinberger, *Tryphiodori et Colluthi carmina*, Leipzig, 1896; A. W. Mair, *Oppian, Colluthus, Triphiodorus* (*Loeb Classical Library*), London-New York, 1928; Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, pp. 38-39.

84. H. L. Ahrens, *Bucolicum Graecorum Theocriti, Bionis, Moschi reliquiae accedentibus incertorum idylliis*, II, Leipzig, 1869; C. Gallavotti, *Theocritus quique feruntur Bucolici graeci*,<sup>2</sup> Rome, 1955; cf. Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), col. 2222; Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 28. Planoudes' Idyllium was edited by C. R. v. Holzinger, *Ein Idyll des Maximus Planudes*, Vienna, 1893; see now

Planoudes wrote a corpus on rhetoric based mainly on the *progymnasmata* of Aphthonios and the works of Hermogenes (*Περὶ στάσεων, περὶ εὐρέσεως, περὶ ἰδεῶν, περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος*). Though Planoudes' work is mainly derivative its great value lies with the fact that he relied upon the older tradition which remained unaffected by the Christian commentaries of the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>85</sup> One can also include here his encomium of winter (*χειμῶνος ἐγκώμιον*),<sup>86</sup> his *basilikos logos* delivered on the occasion of Michael IX's coronation<sup>87</sup> and even his encomia of saints.<sup>88</sup>

For his teaching of arithmetic he wrote his Indian Calculus<sup>89</sup> and scholia on the two books of the arithmetic of Diophantos.<sup>90</sup> He collected in a volume nearly all the works written on harmonics for his teaching of music. He prepared scholia on Euclid for his teaching of geometry<sup>91</sup> while for his teaching of astronomy he edited the *Phainomena* of Aratos and the Circular Theory of the Stars of Cleomedes. His rediscovery of the *γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις* of Ptolemy served as a text-book for geography.<sup>92</sup>

His students may also have been assisted in their studies by his compilatory

P. M. Pontani, *Maximi Planudis Idyllium*, University of Padova, *Instituto di studi bizantini e neo-greci*, Quaderni, 7, 1973. For Planoudes' scholia on Aristophanes, *Ploutos* preserved in cod. Reginensis 147, see W. J. W. Koster and D. Holwerda, 'De Eustathio, Tzetza, Moschopulo, Planude Aristophanis Commentatoribus', *Mnemosyne*, Series IV, 7 (1954), 155-56; cf. Wilson, Church and classical studies, p. 73.

85. For a discussion of Planoudes' *Corpus Rhetoricum* see Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), cols. 2230-32; cf. Kustas, *Rhetoric*, pp. 21-22.

86. Ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. II, Paris, 1830, pp. 310-39; ed. also by M. Treu, *Maximi Planudis, Comparatio hiemis et veris*, *Progr. Gymnas. Ohlau*, 1878.

87. Ed. L. G. Westerink, 'Le Basilikos de Maxime Planude', *BS* 27 (1966), 98-103, text 100-103, lines 1-124; 28 (1967), 54-67, lines 125-737; 29 (1968), 34-50, lines 738-1429; ed. from cod. Mosq. Gr. 315 (441 Vladimir; CCCII Matthaei) ff. 420<sup>r</sup>-440<sup>r</sup>; see now S. Kourouses, 'Νέος κῶδιξ τοῦ «βασιλικοῦ» τοῦ Μαξίμου τοῦ Πλανοῦδη', *Ἀθηνᾶ* 73-74 (1972-73), (*Λειμωνάριον, τιμητικὴ προσφορά τῷ καθηγητῇ N. B. Τωμαδάκη*), 426-34, who discovered a better fourteenth-century codex containing this work of Planoudes: cod. Ambros. Gr. G 14 sup. ff. 41<sup>r</sup>-72<sup>r</sup>.

88. For the edition of his encomium on Sts Peter and Paul see PG 147, cols. 1017-1112. His encomium on St. Diomedes was ed. by L. G. Westerink, 'Trois textes inédits sur saint Diomède de Nicée', *AB* 84 (1966), 166-227; Planoudes' encomium, pp. 177-227, text pp. 180-227.

89. Ed. C. J. Gerhard, *Das Rechenbuch des Maximus Planudes*, Halle, 1865.

90. Ed. P. Tannery, *Diophanti Alexandrini Opera Omnia*, vol. II, Leipzig, 1895, pp. 125-255 (*Teubner Series*). Planoudes' commentary was translated into Latin by G. Xylander, *Diophanti Alexandrini rerum arithmeticarum libri sex, quorum primi duo adiecta habent scholia Maximi (ut coniectura est) Planudis*, Basel, 1575; cf. Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), col. 2228.

91. For the Planoudean scholia on Euclid, *Elements* (preserved in cod. Laur. Gr. 28, 2; Vind. Phil. Gr. 103; Paris. Gr. 2373) and their edition by J. L. Heiberg, *Euclides, Elementa*, 5 vols. Leipzig, 1883-88 (*Teubner Series*), see Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), cols. 2227-28.

92. See above p. 72 ff; cf. Kougeas, *Planudea*, pp. 115-18; Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), cols. 2228-30.

texts such as his *συναγωγή*, a collection of excerpts from pagan and Christian writers,<sup>93</sup> his anthology of Classical and Byzantine epigrams and minor poetry.<sup>94</sup> His editions of proverbs<sup>95</sup> and Aesop's Fables<sup>96</sup> as well as his edition of Plutarch's Lives and *Moralia* (1-69) were of great help to them.

There is no firm evidence to suggest that Planoudes taught medicine in his school but we cannot exclude such a possibility. For a certain monk Merkourios, probably Planoudes' student, wrote a medical treatise on the pulse (*περὶ σφυγμῶν*).<sup>97</sup> John Zacharias, who most probably studied higher lessons under Planoudes, is the last great Byzantine doctor but it is still unknown whether the *phrontistērion* he attended for his medical studies is to be identified with Planoudes' school or with another institution.<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, some works on the Blood and Urine attributed to Planoudes appear in other codices as the works of Nikephoros Blemmydes who was the son of a doctor and as a young man practised medicine himself.<sup>99</sup>

Planoudes' thorough knowledge of Latin and his various translations of Latin authors into Greek<sup>100</sup> seem to have enhanced his personal prestige. Al-

93. A. Diller, 'Codices Planudei', *BZ* 37 (1937), 296-301. Diller refers to five manuscripts of the *συναγωγή*, (Laur. 59, 30; Neapol. 165; Palat. 141; Vat. 951; Paris. 1409) and described the Laur. 59, 30, ff. 1-103; cf. Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), cols. 2232-36.

94. Ed. F. Dübner and Ed. Cougny, *Epigrammatum Anthologia cum Planudeis et Appendice Nova*, 3 vols., Paris, 1872-1927.

95. Ed. Ed. Kurtz, *Die Sprichtwörterammlung des Maximus Planudes*, Leipzig, 1886. The title reads: *ἑτεροι παροιμιαὶ δημῶδεις συλλεγεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ σοφωτάτου κυρίου Μαξίμου τοῦ Πλανούδη*.

96. Partially published by A. Hausrath, 'Die Äsopstudien des Maximus Planudes', *BZ* 10 (1901), 91-105. Hausrath's arguments that the commentary on Aesop's Fables is Planoudean were refuted by B. E. Perry, *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop*, Lancaster, 1936, pp. 217-18; cf. J. J. Keaney, 'Moschopoulos and Harpocration', *TAPA* 100 (1969), 203, n. 10.

97. Ed. J. L. Ideler, *Physici et Medici Graeci Minores*, vol. II, (1842), pp. 254-56; cf. Fuchs, Schulen, p. 62. For an earlier dating of this treatise (10th century) see *CMH*, vol. IV, ii, p. 290.

98. Lindstam, *Lakapenos and Zarides*, No 10, p. 82, 7-10.

99. Ed. by J. L. Ideler, *Physici et Medici Graeci Minores*, vol. II, Berlin, 1842, pp. 318-22 as works of Planoudes and by A. P. Kousis, *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 19 (1944), 56-75 as works of Blemmydes. For scholia with medical topics attributed to Planoudes see Turyn, *Euripides*, pp. 58-59; cf. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. LXXXVIII.

100. For a discussion of Planoudes' translations see Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), cols. 2241-44. For the pseudo-Planoudean translations, *ibid.*, cols. 2247-49. For a new discussion and bibliography of Planoudes' translations see Schmitt, *Lateinische Literatur in Byzanz*, pp. 127-147; see also G. N. Giannake, 'Μαξίμου Πλανούδη, μετάφραση τοῦ περὶ τῶν δώδεκα βαθμῶν τῆς παραχρήσεως τοῦ Ψευδο-Αὐγουστίνου', *ΔΩΔΩΝΗ* 3 (1974), 219-56, with a plate after p. 256, text pp. 227-43; I. O. Tsabare, 'Ἡ μετάφραση τῶν μεταμορφώσεων τοῦ Ὀβιδίου ἀπὸ τὸν Μάξιμο Πλανούδη. Ἡ χειρόγραφη παράδοση', *ibid.*, pp. 387-404 with two plates after p. 404 as p. 405. Tsabare supported the view that cod. Vat. Regin. Gr. 132 (14th cent. ff. 136) is the personal autograph of Planoudes who wrote ff. 1-107 (*ibid.*, p. 389); cf. also M. Papathomopoulos, 'A propos de la métaphrase Planudéenne des Héroïdes d'Ovide', (*Τιμητικός τόμος Σ. Γ. Καρυωμένου*),

though we possess no evidence of the teaching of Latin in his school these authors may have been read in his Greek version. Planoudes announced his translation of Boethius, *De consolazione philosophiae* to the intellectual circles and promised to translate some other works of this author although, as he put it, Greek dialectics had no need of minor works but his translation he hoped would make known to his contemporaries those works the Italians were proud of.<sup>101</sup> However, Planoudes had lent his translation of Boethius to an Ephesian doctor ca. 1296 and he was asking the *orphanotrophos* Leo Bardales four years later to trace and return him his book.<sup>102</sup> Though Planoudes may have had another copy of his translation which was made in or prior to 1296 the fact that he asked for the return of his book after such a long time may indicate that Planoudes after all had little use for Boethius. And when one compares his desperate search when his book on harmonics had been taken by Autoreianos ca. 1294 one is inclined to accept that perhaps this was so.<sup>103</sup> That there was very little interest in Latin writers is confirmed by the fact that none of his students is known for his works in Latin or even for his knowledge of the language. It was some fifty years later that interest in the Latin language was aroused by Byzantine scholars such as the Cydones brothers and others. However, the complete critical edition of his translations which has recently attracted the interest of scholars may also shed light on the problem of the use of Latin in Planoudes' school.<sup>104</sup>

In his long career as a teacher of higher education Planoudes showed successively special interest in certain subjects. By his varied pursuits he seems to have changed the intellectual climate in Constantinople. He started with a great interest in poetry; then he seems to have dealt with grammar and rhetoric. Next came higher mathematics, the *Quadrivium*. He seems to have given special attention to Greek mythology and metre. He mastered hexameter which had almost disappeared since the time of Theodore Prodromos and John Tzetzes with the exception of some metrically imperfect poems by Blemmydes and by Iakobos

Thessalonike, 1973, p. 118, note. See now M. Papathomopoulos, *Μαξίμου Πλανούδη, Μετάφρασις τῶν Ὀβιδίου Ἐπιστολῶν, Πανεπιστήμιον Ἰωαννίνων, Φιλοσοφικὴ Σχολή, Σειρὰ «ΠΕΛΕΙΑ»*, I, Ioannina, 1976, who pointed out (p. VIII) that cod. Vat. Regin. 133 is the personal copy of Planoudes who wrote scholia on the margins. See also *ibid.*, pp. V-VI for the new bibliography and editions; cf. H.-G. Beck, 'Besonderheiten der Literatur in der Palaiologenzzeit', *Art et Société à Byzance sous les Paléologues*, Venice, 1971, pp. 43-52, esp. p. 44.

101. Ed. by M. Treu, 'Manuel Holobolos', *BZ* 5 (1896), 554-557: *Ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ σοφωτάτου κυροῦ Μαξίμου τοῦ Πλανούδη πρὸς τοὺς ὁμίληκας· περιέχουσα τὰ περὶ Βοετίου τοῦ Ῥωμαίου καὶ τινὰ προλεγόμενα τῆς παρούσης βίβλου*; see esp. p. 556, 35-40 and 52-56; Kougeas, (Planoudes, p. 124) suggested a correction of the word *ὁμίληκας* to *ὁμιλητὰς* without any justification. This letter may well have been written by Holobolos (see Treu, *op. cit.*, pp. 557-59); the general view concerning Latin, however, does not change.

102. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 5, p. 12, 68-75.

103. See above p. 77 ff. and notes 65-70.

104. See above p. 81, n. 100; cf. Schmitt, *Lateinische Literatur in Byzanz*, p. 145.

archbishop of Bulgaria written in the middle of the thirteenth century. Hexameter seems to have been also mastered by his students as we can assume from the two elegiac poems written on Planoudes' tomb by his student, the monk Gregory. Some of his contemporaries also, such as George Pachymeres, Arsenios of Pergamon and Theodore Metochites, tried their hand at this kind of metre though with less success.<sup>105</sup>

No work of his survives on Aristotle. But this lack does not presuppose the absence of the *Organon* of Aristotle from his teaching. For it is well-known that his contemporaries, Maximos Holobolos, George Pachymeres and John Pediasimos had written text-books on the *Organon* and other Aristotelian works which may have been widely known in Constantinople and might have been used in Planoudes' school. On the other hand excerpts of Platonic works had been included in his *συναγωγή* thus making Plato accessible to his students. Furthermore, a manuscript of Plato (cod. Vind. Phil. Gr. 21) was written in the Planoudean circle ca. 1300 and Planoudes himself collaborated in the copying of this volume.<sup>106</sup>

Some of Planoudes' students are known to us. The most famous of them were the grammarians and philologists Manuel Moschopoulos and George Lakapenos.<sup>107</sup> The brothers John and Andronikos Zarides as well as the monks Merkourios and Gregory were also students of his and most probably the *aktouarios* John Zacharias and a certain Kassianos.

There is plenty of evidence in the correspondence of George Lakapenos with the Zarides brothers referring to their common education. Lakapenos was born either in Constantinople or in the vicinity and had lost his parents.<sup>108</sup> He was a fellow-student of John and Andronikos Zarides and the monk Merkourios who probably as senior student was assistant to Planoudes (*κορυφαῖος τοῦ χοροῦ*).<sup>109</sup>

When and for how long all these four fellow-students studied under Pla-

105. Planoudes, *Letters*, pp. 190-91; S. G. Mercati, 'Iacobi Bulgariae Archiepiscopi Opuscula', *Bessarione* 33 (1917), 73-89, 208-227, esp. the poem on pp. 82-84; cf. Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, pp. 88-89 and references.

106. A. Diller, 'Codices Planudei', *BZ* 37 (1937), 299-300; Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 214; Hunger, *Katalog*, pp. 151-52.

107. For Moschopoulos' studies and teaching activities see below p. 103 ff. See also below p. 101 ff. for Lakapenos' teaching.

108. Lindstam, *Lakapenos and Zarides*, No 16, p. 112, 13-14: τοῦτ' ἦδη καὶ γονέων ἐρημίαν ἦν ὑπομενέκαμεν. For a further analysis of his life and family name see Lindstam, *Lakapeni epistulae X priores*, pp. IX-XVIII.

109. Lindstam, *Lakapenos and Zarides*, No 22, p. 142, 16-20: τὸν Μερχούριον ὅτι σοι οὕτως ἡρμοσται πεπυσμένος, «οὐδὲν καινόν», ἔφη. ἦδη γὰρ ποτε καὶ ἀρελὸν μὲν σοῦ οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι, ἐξ ἴσου δέ σοι ὠμίλησε. καὶ οὐποθ' ὅς γε τοῦτον ἀθέριζε. συνεφοίτα γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ κορυφαῖος ἦν τοῦ χοροῦ καὶ πλείστα τούτῳ ἔχαιρεν; cf. also *ibid.*, No 24, p. 152, 15-18: τὸν . . . Μερχούριον . . . πρόσσειπε καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐκείνους αἰνιττόμενος, οὓς συνῆμεν ἀλλήλοις, ἀνάμνησον.

noudes is not precisely known. Treu, who published three letters of Planoudes to John Zarides after he had interrupted his studies, does not specify any date for these letters.<sup>110</sup> However, Planoudes in a letter to Alexios Philanthropenos in Asia Minor in 1295 refers to John and Andronikos Zarides as still studying under him and asked the general to secure some landed property they possessed in Ionia.<sup>111</sup>

It seems therefore that this group of students completed or abandoned their studies in or after 1295. Whether this happened before or after Planoudes was sent as ambassador to Venice at the end of 1296 or early in 1297 is not known.<sup>112</sup> It seems, however, that John Zarides was the first to interrupt his studies to go to Asia Minor where he was engaged to a noble girl.<sup>113</sup> Some time after, he got married and stayed for a time in Asia Minor since he is referred to by his brother Andronikos as Ἀσιανὸς ἀδελφός.<sup>114</sup> He returned to Constantinople to be given the command of the city of Melenikon where he was followed by his brother Andronikos.<sup>115</sup>

Another student of Planoudes who a little later may have left school to go to 'Thessaly' was George Lakapenos.<sup>116</sup> Lakapenos wrote a letter to John Zarides in Asia Minor shortly after he had left Constantinople. He regretted that he was deprived of the "Good and Great city" and had to live in an area reported to have dry summers and cold winters but above all he regretted the lack of the intellectuals and the best scholar, namely Maximos Planoudes.<sup>117</sup>

The two other students of this group Andronikos Zarides and Merkourios

110. Planoudes, *Letters*, pp. 223-25; Treu suggested that letters Nos 39 and 42 were written before No 30.

111. *Ibid.*, No 109, p. 147, 70 ff., esp. 70-71: οἱ δὲ σοὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ Ζαρίδαι . . . πλειστάκις δὲ καὶ τῷ πρὸς ἐμὲ φοιτᾶν. For the dating see above p. 74, n. 45. For John Zarides' scribal activities in Planoudes' editions *ca.* 1294/95 see above p. 74, n. 42.

112. Pachymeres, II, pp. 242-43.

113. Planoudes, *Letters*, Nos 39 and 42 refer to his long absence and the delay in his studies, No 39, p. 58, 7-8 and 21-23; No 42, p. 61, 11-14, 24-26. In his letter No 30, Planoudes speaks of Zarides' engagement and his forthcoming marriage, p. 49, 10-14 and p. 50, 21-29.

114. Lindstam, *Lakapenos and Zarides*, No 9, p. 71, 18-20 and p. 72, 26 ff.; see also *ibid.*, No 13, p. 101, 6: ὁ Ἀσιανὸς ἀδελφός ἐπανήκεν ἡμῖν. Letter 13 written by Andronikos Zarides speaks of John Zarides' return to Constantinople.

115. *Ibid.*, No 22, p. 140, 21-23: πρὸς τῷ Μελενίκῳ . . . τὴν φρουρὰν γὰρ ἐπιστεύθη οὐμὸς ἀδελφός τοῦ ἐργύματος; the letter was written by Andronikos Zarides. A sister of the Zarides was living in Thrace in the city of Rosion, see *ibid.*, No 17, p. 120, 1-3. It was during his stay at Melenikon that Lakapenos congratulated John Zarides on the birth of a son (ὕλει τῷ νέῳ); see *ibid.*, No 21, p. 136, 30-33.

116. On the term 'Thessaly' meaning usually the area of Thessalonike see Ševčenko, Moschopoulos, pp. 146, 153 and n. 57 and references. Cf. Constantine Akropolites' letter No 98, cod. Ambros. Gr. H 81 sup., f. 307<sup>v</sup>, where Thessalonike is called: προκαθημένη τῶν Θεσσαλῶν.

117. Lindstam, *Lakapenos and Zarides*, No 9, p. 73, 8-24, esp. 13-15: Θεσσαλίαν . . . νῦν δρῶμεν καὶ οἰκοῦμεν καὶ ἐπερχόμεθα; cf. below p. 87, n. 139.



seem to have stayed at Constantinople. For Andronikos Zarides in a letter to Lakapenos in 'Thessaly' refers to Planoudes' welfare and speaks of his feelings towards his fellow-student.<sup>118</sup> Merkourios who while studying under Planoudes had undertaken a mission to the area of ancient Troy<sup>119</sup> is reported in 1300 to have been an old friend and later a student of Planoudes and it seems that he continued to be in touch with his tutor even after he had completed his studies.<sup>120</sup>

But there were other students of Planoudes. When Merkourios came in 1300 to bring him news from his colleague in the Venetian embassy of 1296 or 1297, Leo Bardales, there was a large audience (*χορεία οὐκ ἀγεννής*) to listen to the news.<sup>121</sup> We certainly know of a monk Gregory who was a student of Planoudes. Gregory who is the addressee of three letters from his tutor (Nos 25, 26, 27) seems to have held an office in the patriarchate since Planoudes asked him to plead with the Patriarch for a certain *laosynaktēs* and for a monk expelled from his imperial monastery.<sup>122</sup> This student is to be identified with the monk Gregory who wrote two poems in heroic metre which were inscribed on the tomb of his tutor Maximos Planoudes.<sup>123</sup>

A certain Kassianos was sent from Asia Minor in 1295 by Alexios Philanthropenos to study under Planoudes in Constantinople.<sup>124</sup> We know of three Kassianoï at the beginning of the fourteenth century but there is no clear indication to identify any of them with the student of Planoudes. A certain *megas primikērios* and son-in-law of the Emperor Andronikos II, was active in Mesothinina.<sup>125</sup> Another Nikephoros-Nekandros Kasianos wrote a note in cod. Ambros. C 126 inf. This codex was written by Planoudes *ca.* 1294/95 but there is no evidence on the basis of which we could identify him with Planoudes' student.<sup>126</sup> The third Kassianos was *megas prōtosyngellos* and Abbot of the monastery of Akataleptos and that of St. Michael on Mt. Auxentios before becoming a bishop.<sup>127</sup>

118. Lindstam, *Lakapenos and Zarides*, No 11, p. 90, 8-11.

119. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 69, p. 87, 12-17 and p. 88, 32-47; see also No 40, p. 59, 25; No 43, p. 62, 6, 21 and p. 63, 28.

120. *Ibid.*, No 5, p. 11, 11-26, esp. 24-26: *καὶ γὰρ μοι φίλος καὶ ὁ Μερκούριος ἐκ μακρῶν, καὶ φοιτητῆς ὕστερον, καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν εἶπερ τις ἐραστῆς ὁ ἀνὴρ*; for the date *ibid.*, pp. 200, 272.

121. *Ibid.*, No 5, p. 11, 15-27.

122. *Ibid.*, No 26, p. 43, 13-38, esp. 13-14 and 20-22. For the office of *laosynaktēs* see Darrouzès, *ΟΦΦΙΚΙΑ*, pp. 214, 289; Planoudes, *Letters*, No 27, pp. 44-45, 14 ff.

123. Planoudes, *Letters*, pp. 190-91: † *Ἐπιγράμματα εἰς τὸν τάφον τοῦ κυρίου Μαξίμου τοῦ Πλανοῦδου· παρὰ Γρηγορίου ὁμιλητοῦ αὐτοῦ.*

124. *Ibid.*, No 98, p. 128, 119-131; see also *ibid.*, No 99, p. 129, 7-11, dated in 1295, *ibid.*, p. 260. Laiou, *Observations*, p. 93, dates the letters 98 and 99 to the end of 1294.

125. Pachymeres, II, p. 618, 10-13.

126. On f. 398<sup>v</sup>: † *ὁ δούλος τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ Νικήφορος ὁ Κασσιανὸς ὁ διὰ τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος μετονομασθεὶς Νήκανδρος μοναχός* +; cf. Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 85; C. Wendel, 'Planoudes als Bücherfreund', *ZfB* 58 (1941), 86 identifies this monk with Planoudes' student.

127. See the note in cod. Vat. Gr. 844, f. 75<sup>v</sup> in Devreesse, *Codices*, III, p. 402. From the content of this note it seems that the Akataleptos monastery in Constantinople may have been an

John Zacharias seems to have been also a student of Planoudes and he was connected with the intellectual circle of his students.<sup>128</sup> He was most probably born in Constantinople where he lived with his mother and other relatives.<sup>129</sup> Shortly after Lakapenos went to 'Thessaly' Zacharias wrote to him a letter informing his friend that he wanted to withdraw to a monastery there. Lakapenos strongly opposed his friend's wish and advised him to stay in Constantinople and complete his medical studies which were nearing the end.<sup>130</sup> Zacharias seems to have received a full higher education probably under Planoudes before he studied medicine for he is referred to by Lakapenos as 'doctor and philosopher'.<sup>131</sup> Whether he studied medicine under Planoudes or under another tutor we cannot tell. However, the suggestion of Treu that he had been a student of Joseph the Philosopher<sup>132</sup> seems to be opposed by Treu's own account of Joseph's arrival in Constantinople at the end of 1307.<sup>133</sup> For from the correspondence of

imperial one united with the monastery of St. Michael on Mt. Auxentios founded by Michael VIII. It is possible that the Kassianos of this note is identical with Nikephoros-Nekandros Kassianos (see above n. 126). The Kasianos and Raoul families seem to have been connected; see Philes, *Carmina*, I, pp. 72-73, for Maria Raoulaina Kassiane; S. Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral(l)es*, Athens, 1973, No 23, pp. 38-39.

128. Lindstam, *Lakapenos and Zarides*, No 10, p. 80, 14-16: ἤπειγε δ' αὐτὴν τῶν τε συνουσιῶν ἐκείνων ἢ μνήμη τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πρὸ γ' ἐκείνων αἱ τῶν σῶν ἡθῶν ἱγυγες, ὅτι περ ἂν εἰς λόγους ἔλθης, ἐπάγεσθαι τέχνην ἔχουσαι; see also *ibid.*, No 18, p. 121, 14-17 and 20; *ibid.*, No 20, p. 128, 31-33: ὁ τῷ χορῷ τῶν φίλων τὸ κάλλιστον ἐμπρέπων καὶ ἀμφοτέρων, ἱατρὸς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τε φιλόσοφος, Ζαχαρίας; *ibid.*, No 22, p. 142, 7-11: τὸν δ' ἡμῖν βέλτιστον, τὸν ἀμφοτέρων, ἱατρὸν τ' ἀγαθὸν κρατερόν τε καὶ σαφέστατον φίλον, τὸν Ζαχαρίαν; *ibid.*, No 26, p. 165, 30-31. There is no evidence to suggest that John Zacharias is to be identified with Planoudes' servant John mentioned several times *ca.* 1293-1295 (Planoudes, *Letters*, No 57, p. 72, 4; No 66, p. 80, 9; No 70, p. 88, 7-8; No 80, p. 103, 45; No 81, p. 104, 25; No 82, p. 105, 12; No 85, p. 107, 28).

129. Lindstam, *Lakapenos and Zarides*, No 10, p. 82, 5-7: ἐνθυμήθητι γάρ, ὡς νῦν μὲν οἰκοὶ διάγων πρῶτον μὲν οὗς ἂν ὀρῶν ἄγεις παραμυθίαν· τὴν τε μητέρα τὰ τε λοιπὰ τίμια συνόντας ἔχεις.

130. *Ibid.*, No 10, p. 82, 7-10: ἐπειθ', ἣν τέχνην οὐ κεκτημένος κάλλιστ' ἂν ἠϋξω γενέσθαι σοι, ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἐφ' ἐκάστης ἐν τῷ φροντιστηρίῳ γυμνάζων ἀστειοτέραν ἀπεργάζῃ; *ibid.*, p. 82, 21-25: ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὃ κράτιστα ἡγήμαι, εἰσηγησάμην δὴ σοι τῷ φιλουμένῳ. πρόποι δ' ἂν ἐν Ἱπποκράτους τετελεσμένῳ τῶν ὀργίων ἐκείνου μηδὲ περὶ ταῦτα ἀναξίῳ δειχθῆναι. αἰσχρόν γάρ ἄφανη παθήματα καὶ κρίνειν καὶ ἰᾶσθαι πεπιστευμένον οὕτω φανερώων μὴ στοχάζεσθαι δύνασθαι.

131. *Ibid.*, No 20, p. 128, 32-33; see above n. 128.

132. M. Treu, 'Der Philosoph Joseph', *BZ* 8 (1899), 46.

133. *Ibid.*, p. 33. It seems that Joseph arrived in Constantinople prior to 1307 for in 1305 or 1306 he is reported to be a friend of Manuel Moschopoulos who sent him a letter from prison; ed. L. Levi, 'Cinque lettere inedite di Manuele Moscopulo', *SIFC* 10 (1902), 63-64; cf. Ševčenko, Moschopoulos, p. 135. This letter confirms the connection of Joseph with Planoudes' circle. In fact John Aktouarios composed a medical work requested by Joseph the Philosopher at a later period: *Περὶ ἐνεργειῶν καὶ παθῶν τοῦ ψυχικοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸ διαίτης*; ed. J. L. Ideler, *Physici et Medici Graeci Minores*, I, Berlin, 1841, pp. 312-86, see esp. pp. 312-13; p. 349, 31-37; pp. 385-86. The problem therefore who taught whom needs further evidence to be solved.

Lakapenos it seems that John Zacharias had studied medicine in Constantinople prior to that date.<sup>134</sup>

Maximos Planoudes died about 1305 during his fiftieth year.<sup>135</sup> He never ceased his intellectual activities and he was writing a religious poem at the time he met with his death.<sup>136</sup>

Planoudes was very conscious of his own and his contemporaries' achievements towards learning and he hoped that the time when the various subjects would be taught properly was not far away if of course learning was not neglected or spurned by future generations.<sup>137</sup>

Although Pachymeres, the historian of the period, did not spare more than a few lines on him, merely mentioning his mission to Venice, he stressed his intellectual abilities.<sup>138</sup> However, those who were most close to him, his students, had much more to say. George Lakapenos refers to him as 'the best scholar with an admirable intelligence and moral probity'.<sup>139</sup> He also speaks of him as the 'most honourable and memorable (scholar) though this description falls short of the truth'.<sup>140</sup> Andronikos Zarides stressed his role in the intellectual life in Constantinople and refers to him as 'the protector of learning who was reserved to our age whose achievement would have been a difficult story to believe by those who did not meet him'.<sup>141</sup> His student, the monk Gregory, in one of his

134. If Lakapenos' collection of letters was kept in chronological order then Zacharias studied medicine during Planoudes' life since the latter is reported as alive after letter 10 was written when these studies are mentioned as nearing their end; see also No 11, p. 90, 8-10. For the chronological order of these letters see below p. 101 and n. 77.

135. See Gregory's epigram on his tomb, Planoudes, *Letters*, p. 190, 7: πέμπτῃν ἑξανίων ἐτέων δεκάδ(α). For his death ca. 1305 see A. Dondaine, 'Contra Graecos, Premiers écrits polémiques des Dominicains d'Orient', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 21 (1951), 422, n. 75.

136. Planoudes, *Letters*, pp. 267-269: Στιχηρὰ σταυροθεοτοκία ἔχοντα ἀκροστιχίδα Μαξίμου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Πλανοῦδῃ, ἅπερ οὐκ ἔφθασε τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι διὰ τὸ τῷ χρεῶν λειτουργῆσαι.

137. *Ibid.*, No 68, p. 86, 63-65: χαίρω τοῖνυν ἐπειτέρ ἦκει καιρὸς, ὥς ἐστι συνιέναι τῶν γιγνομένων, εὐ τοῖς μαθήμασιν γενέσθαι· εὐ λέγω γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ μέλλοι καταφρονῆσεσθαι εἰς τέλος μὴδ' ἀτιμώσεσθαι.

138. Pachymeres, II, p. 243, 9-11: πρέσβεις ἐκλεξάμενος τὸν τε μοναχὸν Μάξιμον τὸν Πλανοῦδην καὶ τὸν ὀρφανοτρόφον Λέοντα, ἀνδρας ἐλλογίμους καὶ συνετούς, ἐπ' Ἀκουιλίας ἀπέστειλεν.

139. Lindstam, *Lakapenos and Zarides*, No 9, p. 73, 10-13: ἀπειρηγέμεθα μὲν γὰρ δὴ μετὰ τῆς Καλῆς καὶ Μεγάλῃς Πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἐλλογίμων τοῦ δεινοτάτου καὶ τῶν μὲν φρενῶν ἀξίου πάνυ θαυμάζεσθαι, τῆς χρηστότητος δ' οὐχ ἥκιστα μακαρίζεσθαι. There is a scholium on the word δεινοτάτου: αἰνίττεται τῷ κυρῷ Μαξίμῳ τῷ Πλανοῦδῃ.

140. *Ibid.*, No 25, p. 158, 1-6: ἐπέσταλται δέ σοι... καὶ ὁ τοῦ πάσης εἰφημίας καὶ μνήμης ἀξίου (μᾶλλον δέ τι μικρὰ καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς γε τὴν ἀλήθειαν) εἰς τοὺς κορυφαίους τῶν ἀποστόλων λόγος (οἶσθ' ὅτινα τὰ τοιαῦτα ᾄδω). There is a scholium on the phrase ὁ τοῦ πάσης... ἀξίου: τὸν Πλανοῦδην ταῦτα αἰνίττεται. The mentioned *logos* is Planoudes' encomium of Sts Peter and Paul, ed. PG 147, cols. 1017-1112.

141. Lindstam, *Lakapenos and Zarides*, No 11, p. 90, 8-10: ὁ προστάτης τοῦ λόγου, ὃν ὁ χρόνος εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡλικίαν μικροῦ δεῖν ἀπιστον ἱστορίαν τοῖς μὴ εἰς θῆιν ἐλθοῦσιν ἐφηνεν, εὐ πρῶττει. There is a scholium on the phrase ὁ προστάτης τοῦ λόγου: αἰνίττεται τῷ Πλανοῦδῃ.

elegies refers to him as ἡγάθεος μουσῶν φίλος (v. 1), ἀοιδopoίων μουσοπόλων ἀκρότης (v. 16), σοφίης πάσης στήλη (v. 19), σοφίης οἶκος (v. 22) and stresses his reputation in the fields of grammar, poetry, rhetoric and his thorough knowledge of Latin and his deep study of Euclid and Ptolemy.<sup>142</sup>

Planoudes' authority as a scholar survived long after his death. For example he was highly respected by Thomas Magistros and Demetrios Triklinios who both praised a correction of his in Sophocles, Ajax 1085.<sup>143</sup> Theodore Metochites was influenced by him and, as has been recently shown, he may have had access to some of his works, especially his edition of Plutarch.<sup>144</sup> A fourteenth-century scribe remembering a correction made by him inserted a note in the text of Plutarch in cod. Paris. Gr. 1672, f. 528<sup>r</sup>: 'This is how Maximos Planoudes thinks it ought to be written'.<sup>145</sup>

His works were very popular and survived in a number of manuscripts. Manuel Gabalas and Makarios Chrysokephalos included in their personal volumes his translation of the *Disticha* of Cato,<sup>146</sup> while Demetrios Kydones acquired his translation of St. Augustine, *De Trinitate*.<sup>147</sup> Nikolaos Rabdas possessed and made additions to his Indian Calculus.<sup>148</sup> In the early fifteenth century Joseph Bryennios possessed his grammar.<sup>149</sup> Among the forty-one books, mainly theological owned by Neilos Ntamyilas in 1417 there was a volume containing Boethius and Cato which most probably were the translations of Planoudes.<sup>150</sup> Cardinal Bessarion, who also acquired among other works a copy of his translation of St. Augustine, emphasized his many-sided learning, his profound study of

142. Planoudes, *Letters*, pp. 190-91, 13-14, 17-18.

143. Turyn, Sophocles Recension, p. 123.

144. Ševčenko, Metochites, pp. 41-42.

145. Cod. Paris. Gr. 1672, f. 528<sup>r</sup>: ὁ κύριος Μάξιμος ὁ Πλανούδης οὕτως οἶεται δεῖν γράφεισθαι; cf. the Planoudean scholium in his autograph manuscript Ambros. Gr. C 126 inf., f. 107<sup>r</sup>: οὕτως οἶμαι δεῖν γράφεισθαι; see H. Wegehaupt, 'Planudes und Plutarch', *Philologus* 73 (1914-16), 246; Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 84.

146. Manuel Gabalas included in his personal manuscript, cod. Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, ff. 294<sup>v</sup>-298<sup>r</sup>, Planoudes' translation of the *Disticha* of Cato; see Kourouses, *Gabalas*, pp. 160, 375. Makarios Chrysokephalos also included in a personal volume the same Planoudean translation with scholia (cod. Ven. Marc. Gr. 83 (*collocazione* 512) on ff. 218<sup>r</sup>-227<sup>v</sup>, subscribed in July 1327. This codex was once owned by Bessarion; see M. N. Manousakas, 'Μακαρίου Φιλαδελφείας τοῦ Χρυσοκεφάλου ἀνέκδοτα χρονικά σημειώματα (1344-1346) εἰς δύο αὐτογράφους Μαρκιανούς κώδικας', *Θησαυρίσματα* 4 (1967), 7-19, 223-24; Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, pp. 156-64 and plate 135.

147. PG 161, col. 312BC. See above p. 67, n. 6.

148. P. Tannery, 'Manuel Moschopoulos et Nicolas Rhabdas', *Mémoires Scientifiques*, 4, Paris-Toulouse, 1920, p. 6.

149. Kerameus, *Varia Sacra*, p. 295; Joseph Bryennios left his books to St. Sophia: Γραμματική, βιβλίον ἐν περιέχον προσηφδιαν, πρῶτον σχέδος, μέτρα στίχων, παροιμίας, γραμματικὴν τοῦ Γλυκίους, τοῦ Πλανούδη, τοῦ Μοσχοπούλου καὶ τοῦ Μαγίστρου.

150. Sp. P. Lampros, 'Das Testament des Neilos Damilas', *BZ* 4 (1895), 585-87, esp. p. 586.

every subject and his command of both languages, Greek and Latin.<sup>151</sup> Certain works of Planoudes such as parts of his anthology of epigrams and his translation of the *Disticha* of Cato were included in the text-books called *mathēmataria* which appeared during the *Tourkokratia*.<sup>152</sup>

His translations from Latin may have been helpful to those Byzantines, especially after the first half of the fourteenth century, who wanted to study Latin; but in fact they rendered greater service to the Italian humanists of the fifteenth century who wanted to study Greek.<sup>153</sup>

Although certain aspects of Planoudes' writings or intellectual activities have not yet been thoroughly studied, for example his language and style, his textual criticism, his work as editor, his reliability as translator, nonetheless it becomes apparent that his contribution towards higher education and learning in general and the mathematical sciences in particular is immense and he can undoubtedly be regarded as one of the protagonists of the early Palaiologan 'Renaissance'. And thus his statement that future generations would be indebted to the few of his own age who did not let the time pass away without any study can be justified by his own example.<sup>154</sup>

151. PG 161, 317C: οὕτω πᾶσαν ἐξησκημένον παιδείαν, οὕτω δὲ διαβεβηκότος ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ καὶ θεωρίᾳ, καὶ διὰ πάντων μὲν μαθημάτων οὐδέναντος, εὐδοκίμησαντος δὲ ἐν ἅπασιν, πρὸς δὲ τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ τῇ Λατίνων γλῶττι ἐξησκημένον.

152. To quote only a few examples related to Jerusalem and its Patriarchate: A) *Codices Sabaitici*: cod. 424 (17th cent.); cod. 425 (14th-15th cent.); cod. 453 (dat. 1733-35); cod. 454 (dat. 1730-32); cod. 460 (dat. 1734); cod. 463 (dat. 1734); cod. 470 (dat. 1747-49); cod. 471 (18th cent.); cod. 475 (dat. 1727); cod. 476 (dat. 1760); cod. 479 (18th cent.); cod. 480 (18th cent.); cod. 481 (18th cent.); cod. 488 (dat. 1727); cod. 704. B) *Codices Patriarchati*: cod. 394 (17th-18th cent.); cod. 453-54 (dat. 1742-43). C) *Codices of the Metochion of Panagios Taphos in Constantinople*: cod. 143 (17th-18th cent.); cod. 144 (18th cent.); cod. 190 (17th cent.); cod. 322 (dat. 1690-91); cod. 492 (dat. 1739-1750); cod. 539 (dat. 1671-1705); cod. 556 (dat. 1710); cod. 588 (17th cent.); cod. 767; cod. 824 (16th cent.). For a description of these codices see Kerameus, *Bibliothēke*, vols. I, II, IV, V.

153. Schmitt, *Lateinische Literatur in Byzanz*, pp. 133, 134, 144; Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), col. 2252 ff.; A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (324-1453), 2nd revised English edition, Oxford, 1952, p. 702.

154. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 68, p. 87, 75-79: καὶ δειξόμεν καὶ κηρύξομεν τοῖς εἰσέπειτα, ὅτι μὴ παντάπασιν ἀργὸς μὴδ' ἀμελέτητος ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς παρέφθαρται χρόνος, ἀλλ' ἐφύσαν κἂν τούτῳ τινές, οἷς τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς καλλίστων κληρονομούντες ἐκεῖνοι δίκαιοι ἂν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα γινώσκουν χάριτας εἶναι.

## PART II

### PRIVATE AND PUBLIC TEACHERS OF HIGHER EDUCATION DURING THE LATE THIRTEENTH AND EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

Maximos Planoudes was not the only teacher of higher education at that period. We know of others who taught privately or were employed as public teachers by the State, for example Hyaleas, Chalkomatopoulos, Theodore Hyrtakenos, Manuel Bryennios, John Glykys. At least two of Planoudes' students, Manuel Moschopoulos and George Lakapenos, became teachers. To this list should be added John Theognostos, the close friend and doctor of George of Cyprus, who was a private teacher in Constantinople at least before March 1283 though neither his status nor the lessons nor the place where he taught are known to us.<sup>1</sup>

Although Constantinople had become once again the great centre of learning there is evidence to suggest that in Asia Minor, too, higher education continued to be available. For one of the greatest scholars and thinkers of the early fourteenth century, Theodore Metochites, was able to pursue his higher studies there during the 1280's. Theodore speaks about his education and career on several occasions, particularly in his introduction to astronomy and in his poems.<sup>2</sup> He was born in Constantinople in 1270 and was the son of the pro-unionist George Metochites. His parents supervised his early education and Theodore himself showed a great zeal for learning.<sup>3</sup> At the age of thirteen he had completed his *enkyklios paideia* and the study of grammar and poetry and started a course in rhetoric.<sup>4</sup> But his education was interrupted in 1283 when, as a result of the anti-unionist reaction that followed Michael VIII's death, his parents were sent into banishment in Asia Minor and Theodore had to follow them there.<sup>5</sup> The next step in his education, which seems to have continued in Asia Minor (per-

1. Eustratiades, Kyprios, No 83 (Lameere No 83), *Eph* 3 (1909), 20-21; *ibid.*, No 114 (Lameere No 118), *Eph* 3 (1909), 46. For the dating of these letters prior to March 1283 see Lameere, *Tradition*, p. 199-200. Even the poet Manuel Philes claims to have been «*διδάσκαλος μεγάλων μαθημάτων*», see M. Gedeon, 'Μανουήλ τοῦ Φιλῆ Ιστορικά ποιήματα', *EA* 3 (1882-83), 216.

2. Sathas, *MB*, I, pp. πε'-ρ'ια'; Treu, *TM*, poem I.

3. Sathas, *MB*, I, p. πε'; Treu, *TM*, poem I, vv. 344-353; cf. Ševčenko, Metochites, p. 25; R.-J. Loenertz, 'Théodore Métochite et son père', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 23 (1953), 184-194.

4. Sathas, *MB*, I, p. πζ'.

5. Ševčenko, Metochites, p. 25.

haps in Nicaea), was the study of Aristotle's logic and syllogistic.<sup>6</sup> Later he studied the *Quadrivium* through the study of the arithmetic of Nikomachos, the geometry of Euclid as well as the works of Apollonios of Perge and Serenos, the *sphairika* of Theodosios and the harmonics of Euclid.<sup>7</sup> He also seems to have studied theology, probably on his own, and continued his studies in Aristotle's logic, physics and ethics. He also trained himself in the art of rhetoric.<sup>8</sup>

The fact that Theodore Metochites was able to pursue his higher studies in Asia Minor is in itself a clear indication that higher education continued to be available in the former centre of the Nicaean Empire, though the standard may well have been inferior to that of Constantinople at that time. According to his student Nikephoros Gregoras, Metochites did not deal with the logic and metaphysics of Aristotle in his writings and his knowledge of these subjects may not have been profound.<sup>9</sup> At least on the subject of mathematics Gregoras' remark is corroborated by Metochites himself when he says that his mathematical studies had been limited and superficial. For, he insists, the teaching of mathematics had long been on the decline and therefore it was impossible for either teacher or student to acquire a thorough knowledge of it.<sup>10</sup> It is possible that this is a mere exaggeration, simply to highlight his subsequent studies in this subject under Manuel Bryennios in Constantinople and his own contribution to it especially to astronomy.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand his remarks may have simply referred to the study of mathematics which was available to him in Asia Minor. For it is well-known that at least in Constantinople George Akropolites, and his students George of Cyprus and John Pediasimos taught mathematics between the 1260's and the early 1280's. They were immediately followed by George Pachymeres, Maximos Planoudes and his students who made considerable advance in the knowledge of ancient mathematics.<sup>12</sup> It must be pointed out, how-

6. Sathas, *MB*, I, p. πζ'; Treu, *TM*, poem I, vv. 356-380.

7. Sathas, *MB*, I, pp. πζ'-πη'.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 4'; Treu, *TM*, poem I, vv. 403-420.

9. See Gregoras' letter to Joseph the Philosopher ed. M. Treu, 'Der Philosoph Joseph', *BZ* 8 (1899), 57, 35-38: δύο πρὸς ἐντελέχειαν τῇ πραγματείᾳ ἐνδεῖ τό τε τῆς λογικῆς πραγματείας Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ ὁ μετὰ τὴν τῶν φυσικῶν τυγχάνει ἐξέτασιν· ἃ δὴ καὶ παρέδραμεν οὗτος (i.e. Theodoros Metochites). For Metochites' works on Aristotle see Harlfinger, *Περὶ Ἀτόμων γραμμῶν*, p. 44.

10. Sathas, *MB*, I, p. πζ': προσάπτομαι καὶ μαθηματικῶν λόγων καὶ τῆς ἐν τούτοις ἐπιστημονικῆς δυσαντιβλέπτου καὶ ἀνεπιχειρήτου παντάπασιν ἀσφαλείας, μετρίως ὅπως ἔρα καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πολλούς· οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ὅ,τι δρῶν ἂν, ἐκλελοιπότες παρ' ἡμῖν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως πάλοι τῶν χρόνων τοῦδε τοῦ σπουδάσματος· πολλὰ ἔτη γὰρ ἤδη καὶ μαθηματικῆς ἀκριβείας, οὐδεὶς οὔτε διδάσκαλος οὐτ' ἀκροατὴς ὤφθη; Treu, *TM*, poem I, vv. 381-387 and vv. 606-616.

11. Sathas, *MB*, I, pp. ρ'-ρια'; Treu, *TM* poem I, vv. 630-672.

12. Metochites' remark was made ca. 1316/17 when his introduction to astronomy is dated; see Ševčenko, *Metochites*, p. 28. For Akropolites' and George of Cyprus' teaching see above p. 31 ff. and p. 35 ff. For Pachymeres' see above p. 59 ff. For Planoudes' see above p. 70 ff. For Pediasimos see below p. 116 ff.

ever, that in Byzantium as in every society the personal interest of teachers played a vital role in the flourishing of certain subjects. It is therefore not surprising that interest in these subjects should fade shortly after the death of those who cultivated and promoted them, particularly since there was no fixed curriculum in the higher institutions and only a very small number of students followed these courses. Another reason that may have discouraged the pursuit of these subjects of higher education was the scarcity of manuscripts whose reproduction was always a costly and difficult task. Consequently if there were no continuity in the teaching of a subject the tendency was that it fell out of fashion. This may well have been the case with astronomy which in fact became prominent after Metochites took up the subject with the encouragement of Andronikos II. The interest was maintained by his student Nikephoros Gregoras, by the latter's student Isaac Argyros and others and thus astronomy continued to be in the forefront of higher education during the whole of the fourteenth century.<sup>13</sup>

Metochites' stay in Asia Minor did not last for long. At the age of twenty he delivered a eulogy on the city of Nicaea before the Emperor Andronikos II who was visiting the province at that time.<sup>14</sup> The Emperor was impressed by him and enrolled him in his service. From then on Theodore played an important role on the political scene and became a leading figure in Byzantine learning until his death on 13 March 1332.<sup>15</sup>

In Constantinople itself we know of some other teachers who were either connected with or supported by the State. During the late thirteenth century a certain Hyaleas was made a public teacher by the grand logothete Theodore Mouzalon († 1294) and was paid a salary out of the imperial treasury until his death. Although nothing more is known of Hyaleas it is possible that he taught poetry and rhetoric since he is mentioned side by side with another teacher of that period, Chalkomatopoulos, and is compared with Theodore Hyrtakenos who taught these subjects.<sup>16</sup> Chalkomatopoulos seems to have started his career as one of the private teachers in Constantinople during the late thirteenth century.

13. *CMH*, vol. IV, ii, pp. 276-78; Nicol, *Learning*, pp. 38-42, 44, 53-54. For Metochites' work on astronomy see Ševčenko, *Metochites*, pp. 42-43; Pingree, *Chioniates*, p. 137 ff.

14. Pachymeres, II, p. 153 ff. and p. 209, 6-9; Ševčenko, *Polémique*, p. 139; the encomium ed. by Sathas, *MB*, I, pp. 139-53.

15. On Theodore Metochites see Krumbacher, *GBL*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 550-54; Sarton, *History of Science*, III, pp. 684-88; Beck, *Kirche*, pp. 700-701; R. Guiland, 'Les poésies inédites de Théodore Métochite', *B* 3 (1926), 265-302; Gregoras, *Correspondence*, pp. 358-69; H. Hunger, 'Theodoros Metochites als Vorläufer des Humanismus in Byzanz', *BZ* 45 (1952), 4-19; H.-G. Beck, *Theodoros Metochites*, Munich, 1952; Ševčenko, *Metochites*, p. 37 ff.; Nicol, *Learning*, pp. 40-44.

16. Hyrtakenos, *Letters*, No 74, p. 35 to Theodore Metochites: *Μουζάλων ἐκεῖνος, ὁ πρὶν μέγας μὲν λογοθέτης, εἶτα δὲ καὶ πρωτοβεστιάριος . . . τὸν Ὑαλέαν . . . βασιλικῶν σιτηρεσιῶν ἡξίωσαν; ibid.*, No 77, p. 37 to Nikephoros Choumnos: *Καὶ μὴν Ὑαλέας ἐκεῖνος, διδάσκων τῶν βασιλικῶν πρυτανειῶν ἀπεσιτίζετο καὶ χρυσὸν συχνὸν ἐπορίζετο, μέχρι τῷ χρεῶν ἐλειτούργησεν.*



He ran a teaching establishment where he employed a number of assistants. At one stage he was the teacher of Planoudes' servant John. John was employed by Planoudes as messenger on many occasions in the years 1293-1295 and was regarded by him as able to start his studies at that time. Planoudes promised to pay Chalkomatopoulos the usual fee charged by teachers unless he was prepared to ask for less on account of their friendship. How efficient his school was is difficult to tell but certainly Planoudes complained about John's slow progress and urged Chalkomatopoulos to take a personal interest in the young man and to order his assistants to increase the amount of work he was given every day. One of the subjects John was taught was composing verses which may have been part of the *enkyklios paideia*.<sup>17</sup> Whatever the case, some time after Chalkomatopoulos became a public teacher, probably in poetry and rhetoric, and was paid by the State as a result of the patronage extended to him by Nikephoros Choumnos.<sup>18</sup>

Another prominent teacher of the early fourteenth century was Theodore Hyrtakenos. Thanks to the survival of his works we know today a good deal about him. He was born in Hyrtakos or Hyrtake near Kyzikos on the sea of Marmora and probably received his education in Constantinople.<sup>19</sup> He was a teacher of poetry and rhetoric, most likely to the lesser officials of the State. For we know some of his students, such as Phokas,<sup>20</sup> Radenos,<sup>21</sup> Bardales,<sup>22</sup> who having completed their studies under him became civil servants, though not all of them followed the same career. One of his earliest students, Constantine Loukites, who came from Macedonia, became a leading scholar and statesman in Trebizond.<sup>23</sup> He was certainly a well-known figure, for some of the leading schol-

17. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 66, pp. 80-81, esp. lines 8-23, 26-29, 41-50 and pp. 240-41.

18. Hyrtakenos, *Letters*, No 74, p. 35: οὐχ ὁ κανικλείου (i.e. Nikephoros Choumnos) Χαλκωματοπούλου (sic) βασιλικῶν σιτηρεσίων ἡξίωσαν; οὐχ ὅσον οἶόν τ' εὐδαιμόνισαν; *ibid.*, No 77, p. 37 to Choumnos: ὁ γε μὴν Χαλκωματοπούλος· ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν ὅπως εὐδαιμονίας τάνδρ' ἐπερὶν διὰ σοῦ.

19. *Ibid.*, No 67, p. 29. There is no evidence for identifying him with an Hyrtakenos mentioned by George of Cyprus and whose family migrated from Cyprus. See Eustratiades, *Kyprios*, No 125 (Lameere No 138), *EPh* 3 (1909), 291. Hyrtakenos' works survive in cod. Paris. Gr. 1209.

20. Phokas is the addressee of four letters by his tutor (Nos 10, 26, 60, 72). That he was a civil servant is seen from letter No 26, p. 742 and No 72, p. 34. Phokas can probably be identified with the imperial official Constantine Phokas, the addressee of Michael Gabras' letters Nos 254, 257; see Fatouros, *Gabras*, I, p. 51 and II, pp. 411, 32-34, 413, 6 ff.

21. Hyrtakenos, *Letters*, No 31, pp. 3-4. Radenos is probably to be identified with Nikolaos Radenos addressee of George Oinaïotes; see Rein, *Briefsammlung*, pp. 62-63; cf. Kourouses, *Glykys*, p. 373. On the family name of Radenos see *Hellenika* 3 (1930), 538-39.

22. Hyrtakenos, *Letters*, No 29, p. 744. On the family of Bardales see Planoudes, *Letters*, p. 200; Trapp, *Lexikon*, II, Nos 2177-87, pp. 16-17.

23. Constantine Loukites is the addressee of seven letters by his tutor (Nos 37, 40, 41, 56, 73, 78, 85). For his career in Trebizond see Papadopoulos, Chioniades, esp. pp. 163-65; Brown-ing, *Literacy*, p. 45.

ars and officials sent their sons to study under him. The grand logothete Theodore Metochites entrusted his son Nikephoros to Hyrtakenos, while the scholar Patriarch John Glykys sent his son Basil to him.<sup>24</sup> Even Alexios Apokaukos who was to play a leading role in Byzantine politics for a quarter of a century (1321-1345) was Hyrtakenos' student.<sup>25</sup>

Hyrtakenos, who possessed a reasonably good library for teaching purposes taught at a school most probably connected with the palace.<sup>26</sup> He was partly paid by his students and partly supported by the Emperor Andronikos II, who promised him a public salary and a *pronoia* in the village of Nymphai but without, it seems, ever fulfilling his promise.<sup>27</sup> The Emperor seems to have appreciated his teaching and in recognition of it he gave him a horse and promised him a gown.<sup>28</sup> From his continuous requests for financial support which survive in his letters, however, we can deduce that Hyrtakenos never enjoyed a regular salary; nor was he ever granted a *pronoia*. Reduced to poverty he turned to his students for assistance and petitioned the rich officials of the capital for funds.<sup>29</sup> He even suggested to Theodore Metochites that if every imperial secretary who had been his former student would offer him a silver coin every month he could have solved his financial difficulties.<sup>30</sup> At one stage he tendered his resignation

24. For Nikephoros Metochites' studies under Hyrtakenos see his letters No 19, p. 738; No 35, pp. 5-6; No 62, pp. 25-26; see also Nos 42, 44, 49, 71 sent to Nikephoros Metochites (pp. 11, 12, 15, 33 respectively). For the studies of Basil Glykys under Hyrtakenos see his letters Nos 67, 87, 93 (pp. 28-29, 42-44, 47-48 respectively) addressed to his student. On Nikephoros Metochites' career as grand logothete see Gregoras, *Correspondence*, pp. 357-58; Guiland, *Logothetes*, p. 114 and references.

25. Hyrtakenos, *Letters*, No 69, pp. 30-31. For Alexios Apokaukos see now Trapp, *Lexikon*, I, No 1180, pp. 109-10.

26. This becomes apparent from Hyrtakenos' request for state financial support which he made either to high officials or even to the Emperor himself. See for instance No 64, p. 27 to Andronikos II: *Δέομαί σου τοῦ κράτους δυοῖν θάτερον ἢ τῆς λειτουργίας* (i.e. teaching) *ἀπαλλαγὴν, ἢ τῶν βασιλικῶν πρυτανείων σιτηρεσίαν*; cf. also No 7, p. 729 to Nikephoros Choumnos: *τὸ περὶ τὰ βασιλεία διατρέβειν*; No 9, p. 732 to Theodore Metochites: *τῆς βασιλέως ἀποφοιτῶν προσκυνήσεως*.

27. *Ibid.*, No 20, pp. 738-39.

28. *Ibid.*, No 1, p. 723 to Andronikos II: *ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵππος, ᾧ μὲ συμπαθῶς ἐδωρήσω* and *passim*; No 6, p. 728 to Nikephoros Choumnos: *ἐσθῆς ἐπηγγελμένη πρὸς βασιλέως . . . Ἀπόδος ἐμοὶ θάττον τὸ ὕφασμα*; No 7, p. 729; No 31, pp. 3-4.

29. He asked for financial support and clothes from his student Loukites, *ibid.*, No 37, p. 7; No 78, p. 38; No 56, pp. 21-22. Assistance was requested from the following students of his: Phokas, No 10, p. 733; No 60, p. 24; Bardales, No 30, p. 3; Radenos, No 31, pp. 3-4; Nikephoros Metochites, No 49, p. 15; Basil Glykys, No 67, pp. 28-29; No 93, pp. 47-48. He also asked for financial help from Theodore Metochites and Nikephoros Choumnos (*passim*); from the *prokathēmenos* of *Bestiarion*, No 63, p. 26; No 70, pp. 32-33; from a certain *megas dioikētēs*, No 43, p. 12; from Andronikos Palaiologos, cousin of the Emperor, No 15, p. 736.

30. *Ibid.*, No 38, p. 9: *Ἄλλ', ἣν τῶν βασιλέως νοταρίων ἕκαστος, ἀργύριον ἐν κατὰ μῆνα βραβεΐῃ μοι τῷ παιδεύσαντι . . . αἱ θ' ὑπερβολαὶ καὶ ἐλλείψεις . . . μακρὰν ἀποιχίσονται*.

to the Emperor but Andronikos II refused to accept it and ordered him to continue his teaching.<sup>31</sup> He pleaded in vain with the Patriarch John Glykys to grant him in *pronoia* one of the monasteries near his birthplace Hyrtakos.<sup>32</sup> His pleas, however, did not go always unheeded; at least we know that his student Loukites sent him clothes and twelve gold coins asking in return for a copy of Homer's *Odyssey*.<sup>33</sup> Most probably he was not the only one who came to his rescue. But help given him spasmodically does not seem to have been adequate to ensure his livelihood and at least at one stage of his life he contemplated entering the monastic estate and approached the *prōtos* of Mt. Athos.<sup>34</sup> Despite his forebodings expressed in numerous letters Hyrtakenos did not die of hunger and was still alive in January 1327 when he delivered a funeral oration on Nikephoros Choumнос.<sup>35</sup>

Although Hyrtakenos was not the most outstanding rhetor of his day he was certainly a distinguished one as far as we can tell from his surviving works. It is therefore surprising that he was never employed by the State on a regular basis. But it appears that the government was no longer able to finance those teachers under whom some of the state officials were being trained. Michael Gabras and the poet Manuel Philes are further examples highlighting this development which took place in the early fourteenth century. Andronikos II, who patronized learning throughout his long reign, encouraged Theodore Metochites to take up the study of astronomy at the age of forty-three under the private tuition of Manuel Bryennios.<sup>36</sup> One might have expected Andronikos to appoint Bryennios as a public teacher for the younger generation, since he was an outstanding mathematician who undoubtedly played a leading role in the study of higher mathematics in this period, as can be seen from his teaching and his surviving works.

We have very few details concerning Bryennios' life to reconstruct his career.<sup>37</sup> Jonker suggested that perhaps he should be identified with the cleric Manuel who at a later time taught George Chrysokokkes in Trebizond. Though such an identification would have gone a long way to explaining his subsequent career after Constantinople, conclusive evidence is lacking.<sup>38</sup> The first piece of

31. Hyrtakenos, *Letters*, No 93, p. 48: καὶ πάλιν ὑπὸ ζυγῷ δουλείας καταδέδικασμαι, βασιλέως ἔτι παιδεύειν νέους προστάσσοντος.

32. *Ibid.*, No 67, p. 29. For a discussion of this letter see Kourouzes, Glykys, pp. 347-50.

33. Hyrtakenos, *Letters*, No 56, pp. 21-22. The *Iliad* of Homer owned by Loukites is the present cod. Ambros. Gr. 463 (I 58 sup.); see Martini-Bassi, *Catalogus*, I, p. 557.

34. Hyrtakenos, *Letters*, No 61, pp. 24-25.

35. Ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, Paris, 1829, pp. 282-92. For the death of Nikephoros Choumнос on 16 January 1327 see Verpeaux, *Choumнос*, p. 62 and n. 10.

36. Sathas, *MB*, I, p. 40' and p. ρα'; Treu, *TM*, poem I, vv. 651-670; Kantakouzenos, I, p. 55.

37. Jonker, Bryennios, p. 17; Trapp, *Lexikon*, II, No 3260, p. 120.

38. Jonker, Bryennios, p. 32, n. 84.

evidence we have about him is the letter Maximos Planoudes sent him *ca.* 1292/93. In it he asked 'his old friend Bryennios' for his copy of Diophantos so that he could collate it with his own. On this occasion Planoudes took the opportunity to praise him for his astronomical knowledge, his studies and observations on the seven planets and accused of ignorance those who had rejected and condemned Bryennios' studies.<sup>39</sup> Unfortunately this letter, which might have enabled us to find out for how long they had been friends and whether Bryennios was born in Constantinople or whether he had studied there, gives no more details. Nevertheless it is apparent that Bryennios was an active astronomer in Constantinople as early as the 1290's and that his method was based on observation. He also seems to have taught Michael Gabras as we can assume from his two letters to Bryennios about 1308.<sup>40</sup>

Bryennios is reported to have acquired his knowledge in astronomy from someone who came from 'Persia'. Although there is no evidence it is reasonable to identify his teacher—who seems to have been a relative of his—with Gregory Chioniades who actually went to Persia and translated mathematical works from Arabic(?) into Greek.<sup>41</sup> At the early stage of his career Bryennios was regarded by his contemporaries as a charlatan until Andronikos II realised after his discussion with him about 1313 that his knowledge was based on scientific principles. He then introduced him to Theodore Metochites. Metochites set him up in his household and studied astronomy under him in his spare time.<sup>42</sup>

No work of Bryennios on astronomy has been traced so far though his great interest in the *Quadrivium* is shown by his surviving works on harmonics and his scholia on Ptolemy's *Almagest* as well as by the fact that he possessed a reliable copy of Diophantos at a time when few scholars in the capital were familiar with this author.<sup>43</sup> But his greatest work is his harmonics written about 1300

39. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 33, p. 53, 3 and 7-10; *ibid.*, p. 54, 18-23: ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πλανωμένους ἀναβλεπτέον. καὶ γὰρ οὖν καὶ ἀναβλέπεις, καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων δρόμους διασκοπεῖς, καὶ σοὶ συνήδουμαι τῆς προθέσεως. χαίρειν γὰρ ἔω τοὺς πολλούς, οἱ τὰ σεμνὰ διαβάλλοντες μάταια ταῦτα φάσκουσιν, αὐτῷ τοῦτω δεικνύντες ἑαυτοὺς τῆς περὶ ταῦτα δεξιότητος ἥτιους ὄντας. For the dating of this letter see now Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 80.

40. Fatouros, Gabras, Nos 10 and 32, dated *ca.* 1308, vol. I, pp. 23, 52, esp. No 10, *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 23, 13-14: συνοουσιῶν δ' ἐκείνων οὐκ ἂν νυνὶ μνησθῆην, ὧν πολλ' ἅττα οἶδα ἀπονάμενος εἰς βίον; Trapp, *Lexikon*, II, No 3372, p. 130.

41. Sathas, *MB*, I, p. ρ': καὶ τινὶ τῶν οἰκείων κατὰ γένος ὡς ἄρ' ἔφη ταῦτα σοφωτάτω περιτυχὼν ἀνδρὶ, καὶ τοῦδε τὰς ἐπιστημονικὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκδεξάμενος, εἰτα σφόδρα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πονῆσαι· καὶ φύσεως εὖ λαχὼν οἶμαι περὶ τὴν δε μοῖραν τῆς σοφίας . . . πολὺν τινα θησαυρὸν τῆς μαθηματικῆς ἔξεως . . . ἐπιμελεῖ τριβῇ καὶ χρόνους ἐξασκούμενος συλλέξασθαι; Treu, *TM*, poem I, vv. 630-645, esp. vv. 641-45; cf. Ševčenko, Metochites, p. 28. For the presence of Chioniades in Constantinople during the last years of the thirteenth century see below p. 109 and p. 158.

42. Sathas, *MB*, I, pp. ρ'-ρβ'; Treu, *TM*, poem I, vv. 630-672.

43. That he actually wrote on astronomy is indicated by two glosses in cod. Laur. 28, 12 which refer to Bryennios' works; see Ševčenko, *Polémique*, p. 116, n. 6. Bryennios' scholia in Ptolemy survive in cod. Flor. Laur. Gr. 18, 1, f. 1 ff., with the indication τοῦ βρυεννίου. This codex

which according to Metochites is the preliminary study to astronomy.<sup>44</sup> Bryennios' work appeared almost simultaneously with that of George Pachymeres on the subject and although similarity does exist<sup>45</sup> between the two, Bryennios' work seems to be simpler. Perhaps it is because of its simplicity that it enjoyed greater popularity in Byzantium. For example a copy was acquired by Nikephoros Gregoras and his student Isaac Argyros, and in the beginning of the fifteenth century the theologian Joseph Bryennios possessed a copy of Bryennios' harmonics but not the work of Pachymeres.<sup>46</sup> This assumption is further corroborated by the extant manuscripts. Pachymeres' work survived in ten manuscripts written prior to 1600 from which only two date before 1500, while Bryennios' work is extant in forty-six manuscripts copied prior to 1600, eight of them having been written in the fourteenth century and another eight in the fifteenth. Furthermore Bryennios' work was translated twice into Latin during the Renaissance, before the Greek text was edited by John Wallis together with a Latin translation in Oxford in 1699; while Pachymeres' *editio princeps* appeared only in 1847.<sup>47</sup>

Both these works were instrumental in the revival of ancient Greek theory of music in Byzantium. For apart from a minor treatise included in pseudo-Psellos' *Quadrivium* their work on harmonics together with that of Nikephoros Gregoras represent the major Byzantine contribution to the subject. Their source is still unknown. They may have access to an uncial manuscript still extant at the end of the thirteenth century or they may have used translations made either from Latin or Arabic, since it is known that ancient Greek musicographers had in the past been translated into those languages. Any answer to this question must await further investigation.<sup>48</sup>

some time later became the property of Demetrios Kydones. It is a copy of Paris. Gr. 2390, f. 14 ff. where the superscription reads *ἡμέτερον* or *ἐμὸν*. Therefore the Parisinus may have originated from Bryennios himself. Bryennios' scholia are reported by J. L. Heiberg, 'Den græske Mathematiks Overleveringshistorie', *Bull. de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et des Lettres de Danemark*, Copenhagen, 1896, p. 83 ff.; cf. Jonker, Bryennios, p. 18 and n. 9.

44. See his poem 10 in R. Guiland, 'Poésies inédites de Th. Métochite', *B 3* (1926), 288 ff.; H. Hunger, 'Theodoros Metochites als Vorläufer des Humanismus in Byzanz', *BZ 45* (1952), 13; Jonker, Bryennios, p. 18, and p. 20.

45. See index *locorum parallelorum* in Jonker, Bryennios, p. 407.

46. Kerameus, *Varia Sacra*, p. 295. Gregoras' and Argyros' copy is the present Vat. Gr. 176; see Mercati-Cavalieri, *Codices*, pp. 202-203.

47. The first Latin translation made by Gian Francesco Burana of Verona survived in cod. XXVIII A 8, ff. 3-118 of the Biblioteca Communale at Lodi, dated 1497. The second Latin translation made by Antonio de Albertis before 1555 is preserved in cod. Vindob. Lat. 10437 (Philos. 184). Pachymeres' harmonics ed. by A. J. H. Vincent, 'Notices sur divers manuscrits grecs relatifs à la musique', *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi 16* (1847), 2<sup>e</sup> partie, pp. 384-553. For a discussion of Bryennios' work with that of Pachymeres see Jonker, Bryennios, pp. 20-24.

48. Jonker, Bryennios, p. 32. Planoudes collected nearly all the works written on harmon-

Another distinguished teacher of higher education in Constantinople in the early fourteenth century was the student of George of Cyprus and future Patriarch John Glykys (ca. 1260-1319).<sup>49</sup> Soon after he completed his studies Glykys was employed in the civil service as *epi tōn deēseōn*. In 1293 he became assistant of Nikephoros Choumnos when the latter was promoted to *mesazōn* during the illness of Theodore Mouzalon.<sup>50</sup> In 1294 or 1295 he was sent together with Theodore Metochites to Cyprus and Cilicia to find a bride for Michael IX. After this successful embassy about which Glykys wrote a detailed account he was promoted to the post of *logothetēs tou dromou*.<sup>51</sup>

Some time after his promotion Planoudes sent him a letter which suggests that the two had been friends for a long time. The purpose of this letter was to refuse to teach a young man whom Glykys had recommended on the grounds that he was not up to standard.<sup>52</sup> It is surprising that Glykys who some time later appears himself as a teacher should have sent this young man to study under Planoudes. It is very possible, however, that Glykys started teaching after this incident.<sup>53</sup> For there is evidence to support the view that apart from his official duties he was a teacher in Constantinople and it was for teaching purposes that he wrote his text-book on the correct usage of syntax (*Περὶ ὀρθότητος συντάξεως*).<sup>54</sup> Glykys composed this text-book for his son George as well as for his other students whose questions he tried to answer in this work.<sup>55</sup> One of his students was Nikephoros Gregoras who having studied in his native city, Herakleia of Pontos, under his scholar uncle John, the metropolitan of the same city, came to Constantinople for further studies.<sup>56</sup> Gregoras tells us that at the age of

ics ca. 1294 but his own copy had been lost. See above p. 77. On John Pediasimos' treatise on music see below p. 122. For uncial manuscripts extant at this period see Browning, *Recentiores*, pp. 13-19 and n. 17.

49. Kourouses, Glykys, p. 309; see above p. 37; see now Trapp, *Lexikon*, II, No 4271, p. 218.

50. Pachymeres, II, p. 164, 14-19; Verpeaux, *Choumnos*, p. 38; Kourouses, Glykys, p. 305.

51. Pachymeres, II, pp. 205, 4-206, 19; Gregoras, I, pp. 193, 14-195, 8; Treu, TM, poem I, vv. 475-513; A. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins, The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282-1328*, Cambridge, Mass., 1972, p. 55 and n. 89. For the dating of this embassy in 1295 see Planoudes, *Letters*, p. 256; Ševčenko, *Metochites*, p. 26. This work of Glykys is either lost or not yet traced; see also Guillard, *Logothetes*, pp. 67-68.

52. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 23, p. 40; see above p. 43 and p. 71.

53. Cf. Kourouses, Glykys, p. 316.

54. Ed. by Albertus Jahnius, *Joannis Glycae (sic) Patriarchae Constantinopolitani opus de vera syntaxeos ratione etc.*, Bernae, 1849.

55. See the note on cod. Laur. Gr. 55, 7, f. 416<sup>r</sup>: ἐποιήσατο δὲ τὸν λόγον πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱόν, κύριον Γεώργιον; cf. Glykys, *De vera syntaxeos*, pp. XI-XII; see also *ibid.*, p. 3, 24-30; p. 20, 6-8; p. 43, 34-35: ἴσθι μοι, ὦ καλὲ υἱέ. For the mention of other students see *ibid.*, p. 20, 24; pp. 43, 35-44, 1: πολλοὶ γάρ με τῶν νέων καὶ περὶ τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν ᾗτησαν; p. 46, 14; p. 57, 21; cf. Kourouses, Glykys, p. 321, n. 3.

56. See the life of John of Pontoherakleia written by Nikephoros Gregoras, ed. by V. Laurent, *Ἀρχαίων Πόντου* 6 (1934), 55-63; R. Guillard, *Essai sur Nicéphore Grégoras*, Paris, 1926, p. 5.

twenty he had followed a higher course, presumably in rhetoric and logic, under John Glykys.<sup>57</sup> And he pays tribute to Glykys' use of the Attic dialect, as indeed he had done to George of Cyprus.<sup>58</sup> Although Gregoras' date of birth which would have given a chronological clue to Glykys' teaching is still undecided it seems that Glykys wrote his work before he became Patriarch of Constantinople on 12 May 1315 and he may well have been a well-known teacher before Gregoras joined his classes.<sup>59</sup>

His work seems to have enjoyed a degree of popularity.<sup>60</sup> George Oinaïotes for example wrote to ask John Opsikianos to lend him Glykys' work on grammar as well as his account on the Embassy (*Πρεσβευτικὸς*) of 1294 or 1295.<sup>61</sup> His grammatical work was also among the works possessed by Joseph Bryennios in the early fifteenth century.<sup>62</sup>

Teaching seems to have carried prestige and no doubt assured the continuity of one's intellectual activities. Glykys is not the only imperial official who spent some of his time in teaching. As we have seen George Akropolites and George of Cyprus, apart from acting as imperial officials, were also scholars and teachers and it is for their latter role that they are better known.<sup>63</sup> They are not unique.

57. Gregoras, I, pp. 270, 20-271, 2: τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπολελεύκειν κἀγώ, καθόσον πλείστον ἐξῆν, ἐν ταῖς νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν σχολαῖς λογικαῖς αὐτῷ συγγινόμενος καὶ πολλὴν τῆς ἐκείνου γλώττης τρυγῶν τὴν ὠφέλειαν, ὅποτε δὴ καὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ οἱ τε τῶν λόγων μάλα τοι ἤκμαζον ἔρωτες καὶ ἡ ἡλικία τὸν εἰκοστὸν παρήλλαττε χρόνον. It has even been suggested that Gregoras must be the student for whom Glykys answered a question. See Glykys, *De vera syntaxeos*, p. IX, n. 7 and pp. 19, 31-20, 9: περὶ μέντοι τῆς γενικῆς . . . τῶν φιλοῦντων τις ἐναγῆς μοι προσελθὼν, ἅμα μὲν τῶν περὶ ταῦτα σπουδαίων καὶ φιλομαθῶν εἰς τὰ μάλιστα τις ὢν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐλλογίμων ἄλλως καὶ διὰ τοῦτό μοι κεχαρισμένων . . . διὰ σοῦ λοιπὸν (i.e. my son George) καὶ τοῦ γραμματος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποκρινέσθω· ἄμφω τε γὰρ ἐμοὶ πεφίλησθον καὶ εἰς τὴν νείων μοῖραν σὺ μὲν τῇ φύσει, ὁ δὲ τοῖς τρόποις μοι λελόγισται; cf. Kourouses, Glykys, p. 321, n. 4.

58. Gregoras, I, p. 270, 8-10: ἦν δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ (i.e. Glykys) σοφὸς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ σφόδρα τῆς εὐγενοῦς ἐκείνης τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡχοῦς εἶπερ τις ἐχόμενος καὶ τύπον ἐκείνον καὶ τρόπον καθάπερ τι θεῖον τηρῶν ἀρχέτυπον; cf. *ibid.*, I, p. 163, 11-15 for his reference to George of Cyprus.

59. See cod. Laur. Gr. 55, 7, f. 416' in Bandini, *Catalogus*, vol. II, col. 268: τοῦ σοφωτάτου λογοθέτου τοῦ δρόμου κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Γλυκέως (sic), τοῦ γεγονότος ὕστερον πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, λόγος περὶ ὁρθότητος συντάξεων (Kourouses συντάξεως); Glykys, *De vera syntaxeos*, p. XI; Kourouses, Glykys, pp. 322, 376. For a discussion of Gregoras' date of birth suggested by scholars in 1291, 1294, 1295 and 1296 see now Ševčenko, *Metochites*, pp. 90-91 who preferred the year 1294.

60. For the manuscripts and for the merits of this work see Glykys, *De vera syntaxeos*, pp. III-VI, XI; Kourouses, Glykys, p. 322 and n. 2, p. 374, n. 3 who refers to twenty manuscripts in which this work has survived; see also *ibid.*, pp. 323-25.

61. Rein, *Briefsammlung*, No 86, p. 74; Kourouses, Glykys, pp. 311-14 and p. 322 and notes 3, 4. For a lost encomium on Constantinople written by Glykys see Kourouses, *Gabalas*, pp. 155-56; *idem*, 'Παρατηρήσεις ἐπὶ τινων ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ πρωτονοταρίου Φιλαδελφείας Μανουὴλ Γαβαλά', *EEBS* 39-40 (1972-73), 118.

62. Kerameus, *Varia Sacra*, p. 295.

63. For Akropolites' and George of Cyprus' teaching see above p. 32 ff. and p. 35 ff.

Combining these two activities does not seem to have been so rare in Byzantium either in the preceding periods or in the one under discussion. The tradition was later continued by Nikephoros Choumnos and Theodore Metochites.<sup>64</sup>

Another state official who may have been a teacher of rhetoric at least in his early career is Constantine Akropolites. This assumption is based on the fact that he composed *progymnasmata* which are usually associated with the teaching of rhetoric although we have no evidence that he actually taught.<sup>65</sup> Akropolites seems to have prepared these rhetorical compositions in the early stages of his public career during the 1280's for according to his own testimony he re-wrote a fable at the age of thirty-four.<sup>66</sup> Furthermore these *progymnasmata* occupy the first part of his personal volume (cod. Hierosol. Patriarch. 40) which was completed in 1291/92.<sup>67</sup>

His *progymnasmata* comprise his four fables (μῦθοι), a tale (διήγημα), a vituperation (ψόγος), a comparison (σύγκρισις), five characterizations (ἡθοποιΐαι), a description (ἐκφρασις) and a thesis (θέσις) so far only partly published.<sup>68</sup> What is unusual, however, is that these *progymnasmata* which are written on the model of Aphthonios derive their material mainly from religious sources and not from Greek subjects. In his διήγημα for instance the ancient Greek hero is replaced by the Old Testament story of Joseph.<sup>69</sup> His σύγκρισις deals with charity and fasting,<sup>70</sup> while his five ἡθοποιΐαι refer to subjects in the

64. For Choumnos' teaching see Kourouses, *Gabalas*, pp. 77-78. For Metochites' teaching of Nikephoros Gregoras see Gregoras, I, p. 309, 4-8; *ibid.*, p. 322, 4-6; R. Guiland, 'Les poésies inédites de Théodore Métochite', *B* 3 (1926), 270-71; Ševčenko, Metochites, p. 19 and n. 6.

65. Constantine in one of his letters (No 47) referring to the death of his first son says that he was expected to succeed him in his ἐπιστήμη but it is not clear whether this refers to his rhetoric or his imperial office; cod. Ambros. Gr. H 81 sup., ff. 284<sup>v</sup>-285<sup>r</sup>: (f. 284<sup>v</sup>): ὁ γὰρ μοι πρῶτος τῶν παίδων (f. 285<sup>r</sup>) καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς, ὡς ᾤμην, ἐπιστήμης διάδοχος, δὲ ἐγὼ μὲν ἐφίλουν τῆς δεξιότητος πλείστοι δὲ ἄλλοι διὰ θαύματος ἐπεποίητο καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσοι τῆς ἡμετέρας τέχνης ἐπὶ βολοί. οὗτος οὖν ὁ καλός, ὁ ἐξόχως φιλούμενος, ὥχeto προώρας.

66. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Κωνσταντίνου Ἀκροπολίτου μῦθοι', *ΔΙΕΕΕ* 3 (1891), 451: 'Ὁ γὰρ μοι χρόνος εἰ καὶ μὴ πολὺς ἄγαν—τέτταρας γὰρ ἔτι πρὸς ταῖς τριάκοντα περιόδους ἡλιακᾶς ἡμεῖσα—.

67. The last mathematical text on this codex, f. 281<sup>r</sup>, refers to the current year 'ζω' (A.D. 1291/92). See Kerameus, *Bibliothèque*, I, p. 123; Ševčenko, Metochites, p. 23, n. 25 with correct date.

68. For a description of these *progymnasmata* see Kerameus, *Bibliothèque*, I, p. 120. Of these only four myths are edited by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *ΔΙΕΕΕ* 3 (1891), 445-49. The comparison (σύγκρισις) ed. by Ph. Photopoulos, *Nea Sion* 11 (1911), 863-64; the thesis (θέσις) *idem, ibid.*, pp. 864-69 and the description (ἐκφρασις) *idem, ibid.*, 12 (1912), 279-81. The English terms are taken from R. Nadeau, 'The progymnasmata of Aphthonius in translation', *Speech Monographs* 19 (1952), 264-85.

69. Kerameus, *Bibliothèque*, I, p. 121: Διήγημα τὸ κατὰ τὸν Ἰωσήφ, τὴν τῆς μοιχείας ἀποφυγὴν καὶ τὸν ἐντεῦθεν κίνδυνον καὶ τὴν μετὰ τὸν κίνδυνον διαλαβάνον ἀνάδειξιν.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 121; Ph. Photopoulos, *Nea Sion* 11 (1911), 863-64: Σύγκρισις ἐλεημοσύνης καὶ νηστείας.



Holy Scriptures or in the lives of saints.<sup>71</sup> His *ἔκφρασις* too take its theme from the Easter Sunday celebrations.<sup>72</sup> Finally his (*θέσις*) deals with the subject of the virtuous life.<sup>73</sup> The writing of *progymnasmata* on theological subjects, though a rare form, had been practised by teachers of the Patriarchal School during the twelfth century. Manuel Gabalas, who taught for some time in a monastery in Constantinople in the early fourteenth century, also composed rhetorical works on the same lines.<sup>74</sup> Whether Akropolites composed his *progymnasmata* for ecclesiastical students is difficult to decide. He may simply have composed them for his personal satisfaction or even with the intention of delivering them before an ecclesiastical audience.

Planoudes' teaching and his intellectual interests were continued by his two students George Lakapenos and Manuel Moschopoulos, known mainly through their teaching activities. For there is evidence that George Lakapenos became a teacher at the beginning of the fourteenth century. And it was most probably for teaching purposes that Lakapenos prepared his works on the syntax of verbs and his *epimerismoι* using his own letters and those of his friends. These letters served both as a grammar-book and as models of rhetoric. He also collected 264 letters of Libanios for which he wrote scholia and glosses.<sup>75</sup> These works suggest that his aim was a serious study of grammar, poetry and rhetoric for his teaching.

It has been suggested that Lakapenos' school was in 'Thessaly'.<sup>76</sup> However, a careful study of his letters shows that it was situated in Constantinople. In fact Lakapenos' stay in 'Thessaly' does not seem to have been a long one. For if his collection of letters have survived in a chronological order, this would mean

71. Kerameus, *Bibliothèque*, I, p. 121: *Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους Ἀδάμ, τοῦ παραδείσου ἀπελαθείς; Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους ὁ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος, καθαρισθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς λέπρας; Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους ἐξαναστάς ὁ Ἀδάμος; Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους ὁ διὰ προσευχῆς τοῦ ἀγίου Γεωργίου ἐξαναστάς νεκρός; Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους ὁ ληστής, ἀκούσας παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος τὸ «σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ».*

72. Kerameus, *Bibliothèque*, I, p. 121; Ph. Photopoulos, *Nea Sion* 12 (1912), 279-81: *Ἐκφρασις τῆς κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην κυριακὴν τελετῆς.*

73. Kerameus, *Bibliothèque*, I, p. 121; Ph. Photopoulos, *Nea Sion* 11 (1911), 864-69: *Θέσις εἰ κατ' ἀρετὴν βιωτέον.*

74. These are Michael Italikos (Browning, *School*, p. 195, No 8) and Nikephoros Basilakes (C. Walz, *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. I, Stuttgart, 1832, p. 466 ff.). Thirteen of Basilakes' twenty-three *ἡθοποιαί* have religious subjects (Nos 1, 7, 8, 13-22). Manuel Gabalas wrote in his personal cod. Vind. Theol. Gr. 174, ff. 69'-70': *Πρόλογος εἰς τὸ κατὰ τὴν Σωσάνναν διήγημα*; also *ibid.*, ff. 82'-86': *Ἐκφρασις τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. For a recent description of this codex see Kouroules, *Gabalas*, pp. 369-75. Akropolites' *progymnasmata* seem to survive only in his personal volume (cod. Hierosol. Patriarch. 40); Hunger, *Mimesis*, p. 21.

75. Lindstam, *Lakapeni epistulae X priores*, p. XVIII. An iambic poem of Lakapenos is mentioned in his letter No 22, see Lindstam, *Lakapenos and Zarides*, p. 142, 13-15.

76. Krumbacher, *GBL*,<sup>2</sup> p. 558; R. Browning, 'Homer in Byzantium', *Viator* 6 (Los Angeles, 1975), 20, 29. On the term 'Thessaly' see above p. 84 and n. 116.

that while in 'Thessaly' he exchanged ten letters in all with his friends (Nos 7-16).<sup>77</sup> Lakapenos mentions his recent arrival in 'Thessaly' in two letters sent to Palamas and to John Zarides who was at that time in Asia Minor.<sup>78</sup> Some time later he advised his friend John Zacharias (who wanted to withdraw to a monastery in 'Thessaly') to stay in Constantinople and complete his medical studies.<sup>79</sup> In his letter No 16 he informed his friend Andronikos Zarides that he was about to return.<sup>80</sup> But while Lakapenos was returning to Constantinople the Zarides brothers left for Melenikon whose command was given to John Zarides.<sup>81</sup>

After his return to Constantinople Lakapenos associated with friends such as John Zacharias and Merkourios, and it is at this period that we possess specific evidence regarding his teaching and the running of his school, where Lakapenos was on one occasion prepared to employ his students to copy a book requested by Andronikos Zarides.<sup>82</sup>

It is not known if George Lakapenos acted as a private or a public teacher. It is true John Zarides while in Melenikon approached the archons in Constantinople in favour of his friend but whether this had anything to do with his teaching we do not know.<sup>83</sup> Andronikos Zarides at one stage asked Lakapenos to inform him concerning the imperial 'protection' he received.<sup>84</sup> In his answer Lakapenos is equally obscure and does not clearly state the nature of the imperial favour or gift which in any case he seems to have refused, though he mentions

77. Lindstam, *Lakapeni epistulae X priores*, p. XXVII: 'Ac nihil sane invenio, quod impediatur, quominus omnes epistulas collectionis Lacapenianae ad temporis rationem dispositas esse credamus'. Some of his letters exchanged with Andronikos Zarides suggest such a proposition. For instance Lakapenos wrote his letter No 16 as an answer to Zarides' previous letter No 15. Also No 23 seems to be an answer to letter No 22 (the requested iambic verses were sent). No 25 is an answer to No 24. His letters to Michael Gabras Nos 29 and 30 are also in chronological order and correspond with Gabras' Nos 16 and 17 respectively. For Gabras' letters see Fatouros, Gabras, vol. I, p. 41.

78. Lindstam, *Lakapenos and Zarides*, No 7, p. 49, 22: ἄχρι Θεσσαλίας, ἣν νῦν οἰκοῦμεν; *ibid.*, No 9, p. 73, 13 ff.; see above p. 84, n. 117.

79. Lindstam, *Lakapenos and Zarides*, No 10, esp. p. 82, 1 ff.

80. *Ibid.*, No 16, esp. p. 114, 17 ff.

81. *Ibid.*, No 17, p. 120, 1-3; No 19, p. 125 scholium; No 22, p. 140, 21-23. For John Zarides' return to Constantinople from Asia Minor prior to this appointment see *ibid.*, No 13, p. 101, 6.

82. *Ibid.*, No 18, p. 121, esp. 21-22: οἱ μετεγγράψαντες γὰρ ἂν ὁμιληταί, κἂν ἄσμενοι τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν. That he was in Constantinople becomes clear from other letters. For instance he could hand a letter to John Zacharias, No 20, p. 129, 5; No 22, p. 141, 31-32 written by Andronikos Zarides from Melenikon(?): ἔπεισέ με δραμεῖν σὺν αὐτῷ (i.e. John Zarides) τὴν εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον. καὶ νῦν, ἵνα σου μὴ ἀπολαύσω τῆς θεάς; see also *ibid.*, p. 142, 7-11; No 24, p. 152, 13-17; No 25, p. 156, 30-32 where Lakapenos refers to Constantinople as: τὴν εὐδαίμονα πόλιν ταυτηνί.

83. *Ibid.*, No 21, p. 136, 9-15.

84. *Ibid.*, No 24, p. 152, 9-13.

that the Emperor had the intention of granting him a favour in the future.<sup>85</sup> So far therefore the existing evidence leaves us entirely in the dark on this question.

On the other hand we are better informed concerning the running of his school of rhetoric thanks to Lakapenos' collection of letters. Some of these letters were written when Planoudes was still alive while others were perhaps written shortly after his death about 1305.<sup>86</sup> Lakapenos' letters to Michael Gabras (Nos 29 and 30) which are found at the end of this collection, have recently been dated to about 1308-1310.<sup>87</sup> Therefore it becomes certain that after his return from 'Thessaly' he became a teacher in Constantinople some time during the first decade of the fourteenth century. But it is not clear whether this happened before or after Planoudes' death.<sup>88</sup>

Lakapenos' contribution to the Byzantine intellectual milieu is difficult to assess, but certainly his works were known to the Italian humanists and may have been used as text-books for the study of Greek. Francesco Filelfo for instance in two of his letters to Andronikos Kallipolites commented on Lakapenos which shows clearly that both his *epimerismoi* and his work on the syntax of the verbs, printed in Florence as early as 1515, enjoyed popularity during the Renaissance.<sup>89</sup>

Little is known about the life of Manuel Moschopoulos who was also a great teacher of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century.<sup>90</sup> Moschopoulos seems to have been one of the earliest known students of Planoudes. He was supported in his studies by his scholar and bibliophile uncle, the metropolitan of Crete Nikephoros Moschopoulos, who unable to enter his diocese, which was under Venetian rule, spent most of his time in Constantinople.<sup>91</sup> He was

85. Lindstam, *Lakapenos and Zarides*, No 25, p. 158, 21-29.

86. *Ibid.*, No 9, p. 73, 10-13 and scholium; No 11, p. 90, 8-10 and scholium. Lakapenos' letter No 25, p. 158, 1-6 and scholium, may have been written after Planoudes' death since the latter is referred to as: *πάσης εὐφημίας καὶ μνήμης ἄξιον*.

87. Fatouros, Gabras, vol. I, p. 41; also Kourouses, *Gabalas*, p. 40.

88. For Planoudes' death *ca.* 1305 see above p. 87. L. Voltz (*BZ* 2 (1893), 221), Krumbacher (*GBL*,<sup>2</sup> p. 558 ff.) and A. Heisenberg (*BZ* 20 (1911), 551) suggested that Lakapenos became a monk but there is no evidence for this; this suggestion was repeated by G. X. Tsampis, *Byzantine education: its theory and practice*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1964, p. 153.

89. Émile Legrand, *Cent-dix lettres Grecques de François Filelfe*, Paris, 1892, pp. 80-84; cf. Lindstam, *Lakapenos and Zarides*, pp. 24-25. Filelfo's comment was made on Lakapenos' letter No 4, *ibid.*, p. 24, 18.

90. On Manuel Moschopoulos see Krumbacher, *GBL*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 546-48; C. Gallavotti, *Theocritus quique feruntur bucolici Graeci*, Rome, 1946, pp. 273-79; Planoudes, *Letters*, pp. 208-12; Aubreton, Triclinius, pp. 17-18 and 79-86; Irigoin, *Pindare*, pp. 270-86; Turyn, *Sophocles*, pp. 16-30; *idem*, *Sophocles Recension*, pp. 94-151; *idem*, *Euripides*, pp. 83-164; Ševčenko, *Moschopoulos*, pp. 133-57, esp. pp. 133-35 and 145-50; Sarton, *History of Science*, III, pp. 679-81; J. J. Keaney, 'Moschopulea', *BZ* 64 (1971), 303-21.

91. On Nikephoros Moschopoulos see A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *BZ* 12 (1903), 215-23; M. N. Manousakas, 'Νικηφόρου Μοσχopoύλου επιγράμματα σὲ χειρόγραφα τῆς βιβλιοθήκης

certainly in Constantinople in the summer of 1285 if not earlier since he signed the *tomos* of the second council of Blachernai.<sup>92</sup> Most probably his nephew was pursuing his studies in the capital at that period. It was to Nikephoros that Planoudes wrote a letter speaking of his nephew's academic progress. At that time Manuel Moschopoulos was not simply a student but he had been given some teaching in Planoudes' school.<sup>93</sup> The dating of this letter would be of great interest since it contains details about the developments in Planoudes' school and the teaching career of Moschopoulos. One would have thought that since all Planoudes' letters which so far have been dated belong to the years 1292 and 1300, this letter, too, might have been written at that period. On the other hand none of the works of Manuel Moschopoulos which may have supported this assumption is precisely dated. The traditional view that his grammatical work *Περὶ σχεδῶν* could be dated as early as 1289 or 1290/91 was recently refuted as well as the date of his paraphrase of a section of the *Iliad* which was supposed to have followed his *schedographia*.<sup>94</sup> However, Turyn's view which is based on palaeographical grounds and maintains that Moschopoulos prepared his editions of the Byzantine triads of Sophocles and Euripides about 1290 seems reasonable and therefore one may accept this period as a starting point of his teaching activities.<sup>95</sup> These may be connected with Planoudes' growing new interest in higher mathematics round about that time when he decided to give some of his teaching of grammar and poetry to his student Moschopoulos probably to allow himself more time for his own studies. It was after Moschopoulos began his teaching that Planoudes sent his letter to Moschopoulos' uncle Nikephoros of Crete prais-

του', *Hellenika* 15 (1957), 232-46; *idem*, *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας*, περίοδος Δ', 1 (1959), 72-79; V. Laurent, *REB* 19 (1961), 208-26; R. Jenkins- C. Mango, 'A synodicon of Antioch and Lacedaemonia', *DOP* 15 (1961), 225-42, esp., pp. 241-42; Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, pp. 61-63, 113-16; Vogel-Gardthausen, *Schreiber*, pp. 79, 88, 90, 340, 469; Kouroules, *Gabalas*, pp. 269-70; Browning, *Recentiores*, p. 13; see now A. Failler, 'Le séjour d'Athanasios II d'Alexandrie à Constantinople', *REB* 35 (1977), 69, 73-74 and p. 68, n. 28, from which we learn that Nikephoros was earlier called Neilos.

92. Laurent, *Blachernes*, p. 145.

93. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 18, p. 34, 32-35: ὁ σὸς ἀνεψιὸς φοιτᾷ μὲν προθύμως, διδάσκει δὲ προθυμότερον διδούς γὰρ τὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐμὴν προθυμίαν ἀντιλαμβάνει. καὶ γένοιτ' ἂν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐλπίζειν εἰκὸς τῆς ἡμῶν ὁμιλίας ὄφελος.

94. See J. J. Keaney, *Moschopulea*, *BZ* 64 (1971), 304 and n. 6 who maintains that the schedographic works contained in Barb. Gr. 102 (A.D. 1288/89 or 1290/91) and Paris. Gr. 2572 (A.D. 1295/96) are not Moschopouleian. Both these manuscripts probably originated from Southern Italy; see Turyn, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, pp. 74-75 and plate 73; *idem*, *Euripides*, p. 94, n. 152. Keaney, *op. cit.*, p. 317 and notes 41, 42 rejected also the suggestion that Moschopoulos' paraphrase of *Iliad*, A-B, 493, exists in Vat. Gr. 29 (A.D. 1291/92) and pointed out that the *Περὶ μέτρου ἡρωικοῦ* prefixed in this codex is a later truncated version of Moschopoulos' tract; cf. Turyn, *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, p. 82 and plate 49.

95. Turyn, *Euripides*, p. 118 maintains that Moschopoulos edited Euripides most probably before Sophocles ca. 1290; *idem*, *Sophocles*, p. 16 and n. 3.

ing his nephew.<sup>96</sup>

Most probably Moschopoulos continued both his studies and teaching at Planoudes' school until the death of Planoudes. He seems to have been a dedicated teacher and an able scholar judging from the various text-books, editions and scholia on classical texts which he prepared. But he seems to have remained in the shadow of his protectors, his uncle Nikephoros Moschopoulos and his tutor Maximos Planoudes. Shortly after Planoudes' death and the removal of his uncle from Constantinople for reasons which are not yet clear Moschopoulos found himself in prison in the winter of 1305 or 1306.<sup>97</sup> He may have been later pardoned by the Emperor and gone on with his teaching but we have no details of his career after this incident, although it has been suggested from the title of one of his letters that he was alive until 1316.<sup>98</sup> This theory has been convincingly refuted on the grounds of internal evidence and the letter assigned to 1305/6.<sup>99</sup> On the other hand Moschopoulos wrote his mathematical treatise for Nikolaos Rabdas who flourished about 1340.<sup>100</sup> This might suggest that Moschopoulos survived his imprisonment but having fallen out of favour with the Emperor he lost every chance of making a career in Constantinople and may well have decided to retire elsewhere.

Moschopoulos' surviving writings comprise works on mathematics, grammar, editions of texts, a theological treatise, an iambic poem, a collection of riddles and eight letters.<sup>101</sup>

Apart from numerous short grammatical works attributed to Moschopoulos his main work on grammar comprises his *Ἑρωτήματα γραμματικά*, the *Περὶ σχεδῶν* and the *Σύλλογὴ ὀνομάτων Ἀττικῶν*.<sup>102</sup> The *Erōtēmata*, a grammar in

96. See above p. 72 ff. Turyn, *Aeschylus*, p. 105, n. 89, dates this letter at about 1289, earlier or later. The latter seems more plausible.

97. Ševčenko, Moschopoulos, pp. 133-157.

98. Cf. Planoudes, *Letters*, p. 210; Krumbacher, *GBL*,<sup>2</sup> p. 546; Aubreton, *Triclinius*, p.

18. This letter (ed. from Marc. Gr. XI, 15 by L. Levi, 'Cinque lettere inedite di Manuele Moscopulo', *SIFC* 10 (1902), 66 ff.) survives also in Coislin Gr. 341, ff. 310<sup>v</sup>-309<sup>r</sup>; Oxon. Auct. F. 3. 25, ff. 96<sup>v</sup>-97<sup>r</sup>; Oxon. Barocci 120, ff. 110<sup>v</sup>-111<sup>r</sup>. For the Barocci manuscript see N. G. Wilson, *Medieval Greek Bookhands*, The Medieval Academy of America publications, No 81, Cambridge, Mass., 1973, pp. 30-31 and plate 65 (fol. 110<sup>v</sup>); Turyn, *Euripides*, pp. 43, 98.

99. Ševčenko, Moschopoulos, p. 148. See J. J. Keaney, 'Notes on Moschopoulos and Aristophanes-Scholia', *Mnemosyne*, Series IV, 25 (1972), 128, who connects with his imprisonment Moschopoulos' interrupted activity on a recension of Aristophanes.

100. See below p. 108 and n. 121.

101. For his theological treatise see above p. 67. Five letters of Moschopoulos ed. by L. Levi, 'Cinque lettere inedite di Manuele Moscopulo', *SIFC* 10 (1902), 57-72; Ševčenko, Moschopoulos, pp. 136-45, ed. three more letters of him with an English translation. His iambic poem ed. by E. Miller, *Annuaire de l'Association* 8 (1874), 251 ff. An *ainigma* of Moschopoulos was ed. by J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, III, Paris, 1831, p. 455.

102. F. N. Titze, *Manuelis Moschopuli opuscula grammatica*, Leipzig, 1822. His work *Περὶ Ἐπισημάτων* ed. by J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, Paris, 1829, p. 404 ff. Short gram-

the form of question and answer, survives in a number of manuscripts. This novel method of studying the structure of a language may have been necessary as a result of the growing gap between the spoken and classical Greek. It also rendered the greatest assistance to the humanists who wanted to learn Greek.<sup>103</sup>

The *Περὶ σχεδῶν* recently dated in the early years of the fourteenth century,<sup>104</sup> is a text-book consisting of twenty-two *σχέδη* each one followed by a grammatical or syntactical analysis of every word. Special attention is given to etymology, synonyms and words either beginning with the same two or three letters or having the same ending; grammatical rules are illustrated by quotations from classical and post-classical authors. It proceeds from the easiest ecclesiastical prayers to more difficult extracts from Homer. Moschopoulos may have possessed the *lexicon* of Harpocration from which he cited more than two hundred glosses in his work *Περὶ σχεδῶν*. Furthermore this *lexicon*, which survives in an *Epitomē* of the ninth century, was also used by Moschopoulos in his scholia on Philostratos, *Imagines*. It became the archetype of the full recension of the *lexicon*.<sup>105</sup> Moschopoulos' work facilitated the student's transition from orthography to the reading of classical authors and also have served as a preliminary study to rhetoric.<sup>106</sup> The number of manuscripts in which the *Περὶ σχεδῶν* has survived shows the popularity it enjoyed throughout the Byzantine period and the Renaissance.<sup>107</sup>

It has recently been suggested that the *Συλλογὴ ὀνομάτων Ἀττικῶν* a dictionary of the Attic expression, is not the work of Moschopoulos but of someone else who based this alphabetization on Moschopoulos' edition of Philostratos, *Imagines* and most probably on his other editions. Even if this is so it is to the credit of Moschopoulos that such a simple and useful dictionary derived its

metrical works of Moschopoulos are still unpublished; see for example cod. Vind. Phil. Gr. 127, ff. 60<sup>v</sup>-64<sup>r</sup>: *Περὶ τῆς Ἰάδος διαλέκτου*; cod. Vind. Phil. Gr. 169, ff. 96<sup>r</sup>-99<sup>v</sup>: *De Nominibus*; Hunger, *Katalog*, p. 236 and p. 273.

103. Moschopoulos' *Ἑρωτήματα* were published by Demetrios Chalcondyles in Milan as early as 1493. Second ed. by I. Vualder, *Grammaticae artis Graecae, Methodus Manuele Moschopulo Authore*, Basel, 1540 together with Theodore Gazes' grammar. There were a number of later editions; see A. Pertusi, '«Ἑρωτήματα». Per la storia e la fonti delle prime grammatiche greche a stampa', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 5 (1962), 321-51, esp. pp. 328 ff. and 337 ff.

104. J. J. Kearney, 'Moschopulea', *BZ* 64 (1971), 319.

105. J. J. Kearney, 'Moschopoulos and Harpocration', *TAPA* 100 (1969), 201-207, esp. p. 205.

106. L. Levi, 'Cinque lettere inedite di Manuele Moscopulo', *SIFC* 10 (1902), 58: *εἶτα εἰς διδασκάλου φοιτῶντες στοιχεῖα, συλλαβὰς καὶ ἀθροάν τὴν λέξιν καὶ τὴν συνθήκην ἐξεπαιδευθήτε, μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον καὶ ἀπεκρίνασθε τῷ τεχνικῶς ἐρωτῶντι, καὶ ἀμιλλαν ἐν ὀρθογραφίᾳ συνεκροτήσατε, νῦν δὲ ποιηταῖς ὀμιλεῖτε καὶ λογογράφοις καὶ ῥήτορσι*. This last stage of the study of poetry and rhetoric represents Moschopoulos' teaching.

107. Ed. R. Stephanus, *De ratione examinande orationis*, Paris, 1545; second edition, Vienna, 1773. For a list of palimpsests manuscripts a number of which include Moschopoulos' *Erôtēmata* and *Schedographia* see E. Gamillscheg, 'Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung byzantinischer Schulbücher', *JOB* 26 (1977), 211-16; see also Browning, *Recentiores*, p. 20, n. 17.

material mainly from his works.<sup>108</sup>

Moschopoulos prepared editions of various texts with commentaries and interlinear glosses. Most of these texts were used in schools. Thus he edited and wrote scholia on Homer's *Iliad* A-B, 493,<sup>109</sup> and *Batrachomyomachia*,<sup>110</sup> Hesiod's *Erga*,<sup>111</sup> Pindar's *Olympians*,<sup>112</sup> Theocritus 1-8,<sup>113</sup> the Byzantine triads of Sophocles (*Ajax*, *Electra*, *O. Tyrannus*)<sup>114</sup> and Euripides (*Hecuba*, *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*).<sup>115</sup> Furthermore he wrote scholia on Philostratos' *Imagines* and pseudo-Paulus Silentiarios (rather Leo Choiosphaktes), in *Pythias thermas*.<sup>116</sup>

Moschopoulos' editions of Euripides and Sophocles show his abilities as a great textual critic. Particularly his edition of Sophocles according to Turyn is 'the most important contribution of Byzantine philology to the Sophoclean textual criticism' and it is to his credit that some forty of his metrical corrections have been retained in the text of Sophocles.<sup>117</sup> His edition of Pindar's *Olympians*, according to a modern scholar shows an excellent professor who mastered metre and all the secrets of grammar in establishing the text. This work is suggested to be posterior to his editions of Homer, Hesiod, Euripides and Theocritus and is dated around 1300. It greatly influenced his contemporaries such as Triklinios' first edition of *Epinikia*. It is not therefore surprising that some sixty of the surviving two hundred manuscripts of Pindar carry the Moschopouleian text.<sup>118</sup>

Moschopouleian scholia are either a paraphrase and exegesis of a particular

108. J. J. Keaney, 'Moschopulea', *BZ* 64 (1971), 314-317, who refers to the headline of cod. Vat. Gr. 97, f. 1': 'Όνομάτων Ἀττικῶν συλλογὴ ἐκλεγείσα ἀπὸ τῆς τεχνολογίας τοῦ Φιλοστράτου ἣν ἐξέδωτο ὁ σοφώτατος κύριος Μανουὴλ ὁ Μοσχοπούλου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν βιβλίων τῶν ποιητῶν. συνετέθη δὲ ἐνταῦθα κατὰ στοιχεῖον παρὰ τοῦ. Planoudean scholia were also used in the composition of this dictionary, see Keaney, *op. cit.*, p. 315. For the scholia of Planoudes and Moschopoulos on Philostratos' *Imagines* see L. Lindstam, 'Senbysantinsk epimerismsamlingar och ordböcker', *Eranos* 19 (1919-20), 57-92; *idem*, 'Die Philostratos Kommentare und die Moschopoulos-Sylloga', *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* 31 (1925), 173-84. The *Συλλογὴ ὀνομάτων* was ed. by Franciscus Asulanus (Venice, 1524); second edition with the *Ἐκλογή* of Thomas Magistros (Paris, 1532).

109. Ed. by L. Bachmann, *Scholia in Homeri Iliadem*, Leipzig, 1835-38, pp. 689-745.

110. Ed. A. Ludwich, *Moschopuli in Batrachomyomachiam commentarii*, Regimontii, 1890.

111. Ed. Th. Gaisford, *Poetae Minores Graeci*, vol. II, Leipzig, 1823.

112. K. Lehrs, *Die Pindarscholien*, Leipzig, 1873, pp. 73-78; Irigoin, *Pindare*, pp. 270-86. Moschopoulos' scholia are to be found in A. Drachmann, *Scholia Vetera in Pindari*, vol. I, Leipzig, 1903 (*Teubner Series*).

113. Ed. C. Wendel, *Scholia in Theocritum Vetera*, Leipzig, 1914 (*Teubner Series*); C. Galavotti, *Theocritus quique feruntur bucolici Graeci*, Rome, 1946, pp. 273-79. Of a list of 178 Theocritian manuscripts some 40 carry the Moschopouleian text, see *ibid.*, pp. 319-28; *idem*, 'L'Edizione Theocritea di Moscopulo', *Rivista di filologiae d'istruzione classica*, N.S. 12 (1934), 352 ff.

114. Turyn, *Sophocles*, pp. 15-30; *idem*, *Sophocles Recension*, pp. 102-73.

115. Turyn, *Euripides*, pp. 83-164.

116. Ed. Ed. Cougny, *Anthologia Palatina*, vol. III, Appendix IV, No 75, pp. 408-12.

117. Turyn, *Sophocles Recension*, pp. 124, 138-39.

118. Irigoin, *Pindare*, pp. 285-86.

point, or grammatical and lexical equivalents. They sometimes contain mythological and historical notes. In iambic and trochaic metres he was often successful in emending corrupt passages but he was not so successful with the lyrics.<sup>119</sup> Collections of Moschopouleian editions of classical poetry and in some cases smaller sections of them survive in many manuscripts together with scholia which shows clearly that they were subsequently used as text-books.<sup>120</sup>

His mathematical treatise on the invention of the magic squares (*Παράδοσις εἰς τὴν εὕρεσιν τῶν τετραγώνων ἀριθμῶν*) was written at the request of Nikolaos Rabdas. As has been pointed out this work is purely mathematical and has nothing to do with magic. It also bears no Arabic influence.<sup>121</sup>

From a close examination of the activities of the scholars and teachers it becomes apparent that by the end of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century Constantinople was a great centre of higher studies. From all parts of the former Empire students such as Leo from Cyprus, Matarangides probably from Dyrachion and Joseph the Philosopher gathered there to pursue courses on higher education. Of these the most prominent was Joseph. Joseph the Philosopher (ca. 1260-ca. 1330) having abandoned all prospects of a successful career in his Latin-occupied island of Ithaca and after an adventurous and rigorous monastic life in various monasteries on the Greek mainland found his way via Thessalonike to Constantinople in the early years of the fourteenth century. After attending the classes of the most famous teachers he devoted himself to learning and distinguished himself as a philosopher of both wisdoms the *θύραθεν*, secular learning and the *καθ' ἡμᾶς*, the ecclesiastical one. Though some minor works have recently been attributed to him his most important work is his encyclopaedia. This work is mainly derivative its sources having been found in Blemmydes, Pachymeres and others and only its section on rhetoric has been published so far.<sup>122</sup> Joseph was not alone. A deacon and official of the metropolitan of Phi-

119. Turyn, *Euripides*, pp. 117-18.

120. E. g. Oxon. Laud. Gr. 54; Oxon. Auct. F. 3. 25; Vat. Gr. 50; Vat. Gr. 1303; Vat. Urbin. 140; Neapol. Farnes II. F. 9; Laur. Gr. Plut. 31, 5; Modene, Biblioteca Estense, a. U. 9. 19. Smaller selections are represented in: Ambros. Gr. G 43 sup.; Ambros. B 97 sup.; Athous, Vatoped. 671; Coislin Gr. 169; Dresd. Da, 22; Laur. Gr. conv. soppr. 71 etc; cf. Aubreton, *Triclinius*, pp. 79-86; Turyn, *Euripides*, pp. 42-43, 54, 98-99, 121, 124-25, 132-33, 135, 139 ff., 148-49, 153-54, 156; R. Browning, 'Homer in Byzantium', *Viator* 6 (Los Angeles, 1975), 16 and n. 13.

121. Ed. with a French translation by P. Tannery, *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques*, (1886), (Repr. *Mémoires scientifiques* vol. 4 (1920), pp. 27-60, text pp. 32-53 with 14 figs. in the end; cf. Sarton, *History of Science*, III, p. 680.

122. Rein, *Briefsammlung*, pp. 57-58 and n. 3, p. 59 and n. 1; R.-J. Loenertz, 'Un Pachymère, auter des lettres du San Marco 356?', *BZ* 53 (1960), 291 and n. 5. Matarangides, the student of Moschopoulos, was a foreigner; see L. Levi, 'Cinque lettere inedite di Manuele Moscopulo', *SIFC* 10 (1902), 67, 15-17; cf. Ševčenko, Moschopoulos, p. 147 and n. 73 who thinks that his name is Albanian. On Joseph the Philosopher see M. Treu, 'Der Philosoph Joseph', *BZ* 8 (1899),



ladelphia, Manuel Gabalas, took advantage of his mission to Constantinople and joined the intellectual circles there.<sup>123</sup>

Gregory Chioniades travelled to 'Persia' where he studied the language. He translated a number of works and brought back with him manuscripts on mathematics and especially astronomy. After his return he spent some years in Constantinople at the end of the thirteenth and the first years of the fourteenth century before he went back to 'Persia', this time as bishop of Tabriz.<sup>124</sup> In an unpublished letter of Constantine Akropolites, sent most probably to Theodora Raoulaina († Dec. 1300) who had asked him to correct a mathematical treatise which belonged to her there is evidence to suggest that foreigners were present in Constantinople at that time and that they prided themselves on their mathematical knowledge and claimed to be able to predict future events which were possibly of an astronomical nature.<sup>125</sup> Akropolites may refer to people who came from Trebizond, whose knowledge of astronomy he and others seem to have failed to understand, and his attacks contained in this letter may have been directed against astronomers like Chioniades and even Manuel Bryennios.<sup>126</sup>

The revival of learning which had begun in Nicaea and continued in Constantinople was flourishing around 1300. The great number of teachers of higher education appearing at that period certainly shows the great thirst for learning. The *enkyklios paideia* was not regarded as adequate any more for the lesser offices of the State and a special study of rhetoric was required. The aim of a student of higher education, however, was to acquire a high post in the service of the Emperor. But it seems that there were few vacancies left in the imperial service. For these offices had been occupied by highly educated young men during the reign of Michael VIII and Andronikos II. Therefore few options were left open for these ambitious young men, teaching being one of them. Some of them succeeded in finding employment with other rulers or were forced to take up posts where higher studies were not necessary. Constantine Loukites for instance, the student of Theodore Hyrtakenos, found protection in the court of Alexios II of Trebizond where he was raised to the post of *prōtonotarios* and *prōtovestiaros*

1-64; J. Dräseke, 'Zum Philosophen Joseph', *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 42 (1899), 612-20; Gregoras, *Correspondence*, pp. 338-42; N. Terzaghi, 'Sulla composizione dell' enciclopedia dell' filosofo Giuseppe', *SIFC* 10 (1902), 121-32; R. Griscuolo, 'Note sull' "Enciclopedia" del Filosofo Giuseppe', *B* 44 (1974), 255-81; D. Stiernon, 'Joseph le Philosophe, moine byzantin mort vers 1330', *DS VIII* (Paris, 1974), 1388-92; Nicol, *Learning*, pp. 35-36. For a new dating of his life see Kourouses, Glykys, p. 336 and n. 2; see also G. Pentogalos, 'Ἰωσήφ Πακηνδύτου "Ὑμνοί"', *Hellenika* 23 (1970), 114-18; *idem*, *Οἱ λατρικὲς γνώσεις Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Πακηνδύτη καὶ ἡ σχετικὴ ἀνέκδοτη ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Μιχαήλ Γαβρᾶ*, Athens, 1970.

123. Kourouses, *Gabalas*, pp. 307 ff., 309-10; Trapp, *Lexikon*, II, No 3309, pp. 124-25.

124. Papadopoulos, Chioniades, p. 172 ff.

125. See Appendix, No 60, p. 164, 8-11.

126. On Bryennios see above pp. 95-97.

and taught in the higher mathematical school of Trebizond.<sup>127</sup> John Zarides, the student of Planoudes, on the other hand, became commander of the frontier city of Melenikon thus changing his career from an intellectual to a military one.<sup>128</sup>

Nonetheless the impoverished State was unable to absorb or support all the highly educated men and although the imperial palace continued to be a *prytaneion* of learning,<sup>129</sup> Andronikos II, the most eulogized Emperor, constantly received petitions from impecunious scholars. The decline of the imperial protection of education which had gradually begun in the early fourteenth century indubitably prevented further developments in Byzantine learning. This does not mean that higher studies were abandoned. On the contrary the shrinking needs of higher education experienced in the capital led to the creation of new centres of learning such as Thessalonike, Trebizond and some time later Mystras where the structure of higher studies established *ca.* 1300 continued to function. However, though Constantinople remained to the last the centre of learning of the Empire it was the Orthodox Church which slowly but steadily took over the direction of education and inevitably imposed its own attitudes on secular education.

127. Papadopoulos, Chioniades, pp. 163-65. Loukites may also have been a student of Chioniades, see *ibid.*, letter No 8, p. 197, 9-11 and 28.

128. See above p. 84 and p. 102.

129. Gregoras, I, p. 327, 12-17; *ibid.*, pp. 334-35 and p. 471, 11-12; Nicol, Learning, p. 34.

PART III

THE ΥΠΑΤΟΙ, BOOKS, TEXT-BOOKS  
AND TEACHING



## CHAPTER V

### THE ΥΠΑΤΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΝ DURING THE THIRTEENTH AND EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURIES AND THE TEACHING OF PHILOSOPHY

We know of four 'consuls of the philosophers' (ὑπατοὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων) who were active during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries although we are still left in the dark as far as their actual duties were concerned.<sup>1</sup> For with the exception of John Pediasimos, none of their works has survived which might have enabled us to trace in detail their functions and the content of their teaching. Nevertheless despite the paucity of information it is perhaps worthwhile to re-examine the matter in the light of evidence collected so far, concerning the teachers of higher education in general, in the hope of taking the investigation a step further.

The office seems to have made its appearance with Michael Psellos in the middle of the eleventh century and may have been one of the developments in the reorganization of higher education made by Constantine IX Monomachos.<sup>2</sup> Psellos as 'consul of the philosophers' was the head of the higher imperial 'School of Philosophy' and probably also acted as director of higher education.<sup>3</sup> Apart from the other courses of higher education (rhetoric, *Quadrivium*) it seems that his teaching activities concentrated on philosophy, mainly Neoplatonism.<sup>4</sup> He was succeeded in this office by his student John Italos who taught rhetoric and philosophy probably until 1082 when he was accused of heresy by the synod in that year.<sup>5</sup> Despite this accusation the post of *hypatos* did survive and seems to have been filled by Italos' student Theodore of Smyrna.<sup>6</sup> The condemnation

1. For the *hypatoi tōn philosophōn* see Fuchs, *Schulen*, pp. 50-52.

2. Hussey, *Church and Learning*, pp. 50-72; Browning, *Enlightenment*, p. 8. For a different view see W. W-Conus, 'Les écoles de Psellos et de Xiphilin sous Constantin IX Monomaque', *TM* 6 (1976), 223-43, esp. p. 227.

3. P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XIe siècle byzantin*, Paris, 1977, pp. 225-26; W. W-Conus, 'Les écoles de Psellos et de Xiphilin sous Constantin IX Monomaque', *TM* 6 (1976), 231 ff.

4. Hussey, *Church and Learning*, pp. 62 ff., 73 ff.; Browning, *Enlightenment*, pp. 9-11.

5. Hussey, *Church and Learning*, pp. 90-94; Browning, *Enlightenment*, pp. 11-15; J. Gouillard, 'La Religion des philosophes', *TM* 6 (1976), 306-15; Nicol, *Learning*, p. 26; *CMH*, IV, ii, pp. 195-96.

6. PG 127, col. 972; Grumel, *Regestes*, No 967; Fuchs, *Schulen*, p. 50; Laurent, *Légendes sigillographiques*, pp. 331-35; Hussey, *Church and Learning*, pp. 104, 111-12; Beck, *Kirche*, p. 617; Browning, *Enlightenment*, p. 16.

of Italos, it has been argued, marked a decisive turning point in the study and teaching of philosophy since by its intervention the Church circumscribed the horizon of free secular thought. Henceforth all philosophical enquiry seems to have come to a certain degree under ecclesiastical guidance.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless philosophy continued to be studied during the twelfth century and scholars such as Eustratios of Nicaea, Theodore Prodromos and John Tzetzes prepared commentaries on Aristotle, though we have no evidence that any of these scholars held the post of *hypatos tōn philosophōn*. The next known appointment to the post of *ὑπατος* was that of Michael of Anchialos in 1165 or 1167. Michael, a future Patriarch (1170-1178), was before his appointment a deacon and *sakellarios* of the Great Church. This was an important step since so far as we know all the *ὑπατοι* until that time had been laymen. This created a precedent and from now on the post was held indiscriminately by either laymen or clerics. In his case we have also more information concerning the office. For example Michael of Anchialos was to be paid a salary out of imperial funds and at his inaugural lecture he professed his orthodoxy by promising to limit his teaching to Aristotle and to provide the means for the fight against heresy.<sup>8</sup> We do not know definitely his immediate successor but it may have been a certain Constantine who was also connected with Aristotelian teaching.<sup>9</sup>

It appears therefore that the office of *hypatos* continued in existence throughout this period. The title *maistōr tōn philosophōn* borne by Manuel Karantenos just before 1204, though perhaps involving the teaching of philosophy, seems to have been connected with the Patriarchal School rather than a new name for the post of *ὑπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων*.<sup>10</sup>

From the four known *ὑπατοι τῶν φιλοσόφων* during the thirteenth century two, Theodore Eirenikos and Demetrios Karykes, were active in the Nicaean Empire, while John Pediasimos and Niketas Kyprianos held that post in Constantinople after 1261.

Little is known about Theodore Eirenikos' activities as 'consul of the philosophers'. That he would have been a highly educated man is shown by his career before 1204 when he was *epi tou kanikleiou* in the imperial service.<sup>11</sup> He later

7. Browning, *Enlightenment*, pp. 15, 17; Nicol, *Learning*, pp. 26-27.

8. PG 147, col. 464A; R. Browning, 'A new source on Byzantine-Hungarian relations in the twelfth century', *Balkan Studies* 2 (1961), 181-84 and references to the text published *ibid.*, pp. 187-203; *idem*, *Enlightenment*, pp. 16-17; Nicol, *Learning*, p. 27.

9. Browning, *A new source*, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-85. Browning (*ibid.*, p. 185) suggested that this *hypatos* Constantine is to be identified with Constantine of Nicaea the philosopher, author of two speeches preserved in cod. Escor. Y-11-10, ff. 301<sup>v</sup>-306<sup>v</sup>; but see *idem*, *Enlightenment*, p. 16.

10. Browning, *School*, pp. 198-200; see also above p. 51.

11. Lampros, *Choniates*, II, pp. 102, 121; he signed a chrysobull in November 1197 concerning the monastery of St. John of Patmos as: † τοῦ σεβαστοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου Θεοδώρου τοῦ Εἰρημικοῦ; see F. Dölger, 'Die Kaiserurkunden des Johannes-Theologos-Klosters auf Patmos', *BZ* 28 (1928), 345 and plate II; Laurent, *Regestes*, No 1219, p. 25.

seems to have joined the Church and was made *chartophylax* of the Great Church some time after 17 June 1209.<sup>12</sup>

At about this period Theodore I Laskaris appointed Eirenikos to the office of *hypatos tōn philosophōn* which he had to relinquish on his elevation to the patriarchal throne in September 1214.<sup>13</sup> Though his seal as *hypatos* has survived—the only one known so far of that office—we lack any evidence of his teaching which may have taken place in Nicaea. The legend on his seal reads:<sup>14</sup>

Φιλοσόφ[ων] ὑπατον ἡ σφραγὶς γράφει  
Εἰρηνικὸν Θεόδωρον τὸν λευίτην.

Eirenikos seems to have been succeeded in office by Demetrios Karykes who taught Nikephoros Blemmydes logic at least for a short period before the 1220's.<sup>15</sup> If his teaching of logic could be considered among his official duties as *hypatos* then his appointment must have been made by Theodore I. Unfortunately Blemmydes does not specify if his tutor taught him under imperial jurisdiction or privately and at any rate he seems to have been dissatisfied by his teaching.<sup>16</sup> But whether he already held the office of *hypatos tōn philosophōn* or not Karykes seems to have been appointed by John III Batatzes as his adviser on higher education and it was at the Emperor's instruction that he examined *viua voce* Blemmydes soon after the latter had completed his higher studies under Prodromos of Skamandros about 1223.<sup>17</sup> The post probably brought great honour to Karykes and he is known to have been given other official duties such as those of *kritēs* and *megas logariastēs*.<sup>18</sup> Early in 1234 Karykes was the spokesman of the Orthodox Church in discussions with papal legates and it seems that his lack of success in these discussions may have brought about his downfall. For from that moment he does not appear active in the Nicaean Empire.<sup>19</sup> Concerning his teaching activities we know disappointingly little and this lack of evidence is further compounded by the fact that no work of his has been traced so far.

This paucity of information as far as the Nicaean *ὑπατοὶ* are concerned is

12. K. Chatzepsaltes, 'Ἡ ἐκκλησία τῆς Κύπρου καὶ τὸ ἐν Νικαίᾳ Πατριαρχεῖον', *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί* 28 (1964), 141, 144; Laurent, *Regestes*, No 1210, p. 12. On 17 June 1209 Manuel Kyritzes appears as holder of this office.

13. PG 147, col. 465AB; on his period of office see Laurent, *Chronologie*, pp. 133, 134.

14. Published by K. Konstantopoulos, *Βυζαντιὰ Μολυβδόβουλλα. Συλλογὴ Α. Κ. Π. Σταμούλη*, Athens, 1930, No 116, pp. 24-25, plate IV, No 4; cf. K. Amantos, 'Διδάσκαλος τῶν διδασκάλων', *Hellenika* 8 (1935), 72.

15. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, pp. 55, 18-19; Angold, *Laskarids*, pp. 179-80.

16. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, pp. 2, 29-3, 1.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 55, 14-21.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 29-13, 1; p. 55, 15-18.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 64, 7-9 and 16-18.

perhaps an indication that their actual teaching may have been in fact very limited and may not have corresponded to the title. If indeed both Eirenikos and Karykes were appointed by Theodore I, one is inclined to suspect that in his concern to establish himself as the legitimate Emperor in exile vis-à-vis Trebizond and Epiros Theodore may well have decided to increase the prestige of his court by reintroducing traditional imperial *officia* such as the *hypatos tōn philosophōn* despite their small practical application.

A certain *chartophylax* of the Great Church, John Hagiotessarakontites, is reported as 'philosopher' in a synodical document of 4 May 1250 but there is no evidence as to whether this epithet refers to any teaching activities or even whether it was ever connected with the post of *hypatos tōn philosophōn*.<sup>20</sup> Similarly there is no evidence that George Akropolites was given any title for his teaching after 1261 when he held the office of grand logothete which was superior to that of the 'consul of the philosophers'. Both were imperial *ὀφφίκια* but while that of the *hypatos tōn philosophōn* belonged to the sixth pentad and usually occupied the twenty-ninth rank, that of the *megas logothetēs* belonged to the second pentad and its holder was among the higher officials of the State.<sup>21</sup> This may explain the gap in continuity concerning the title of 'consul of the philosophers' during the period under review. For though vacancies may have occurred it is also possible that persons of a higher rank in the imperial service carrying out the duties of *hypatos* may have done so without given the title, since this was of inferior status to that which they already held. Or, more likely, they may have held the title of *hypatos* but were addressed and known by their higher title. This assumption seems to be strengthened by the known fact that three churchmen in the thirteenth century were given by the Emperor the duties of the *hypatos* in addition to their clerical commitments.<sup>22</sup>

The most distinguished *hypatos tōn philosophōn* of this period, whose many

20. Ed. V. Laurent, 'Recherches sur l'histoire et le cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Pitié à Stroumitsa', *EO* 33 (1934), 23-27. Judging from his seal preserved in this document: *Χαρτοφύλαξ Ἰωάννης ὁ Φιλόσοφος* (*ibid.*, p. 26) one would have thought it possible that this was his surname. For a manuscript (Hierosol. Sabaiticus 534) of the monastery τοῦ Φιλοσόφου in the Peloponnese whose name is not connected with its founder, John Lampardopoulos, see Kerameus, *Bibliothèque*, vol. I, p. 579; T. Gritsopoulos, *Μονὴ Φιλοσόφου*, Athens, 1960; see also Laurent, *Regestes*, No 1312, p. 119; *idem*, *Corpus* No 106, p. 85. For another monastery in Athens called: τοῦ κυνηγοῦ τῶν φιλοσόφων, see Lampros, *Choniates*, II, p. 247; J. Strygofsky, 'Ἡ μὴ μὴ τοῦ κυνηγοῦ τῶν φιλοσόφων', *ΔΙΕΕΕ* 3 (1890), 117-128.

21. Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos*, pp. 300, 21-22; 321, 48; 338, 143 for the *hypatos tōn philosophōn*; see *ibid.*, pp. 137, 8, 18; 300, 6-7; 305, 5-6; 307, 7; 309, 4-5; 320, 22-23; 334, 32; 344, 14; 347, 9 for the grand logothete.

22. Theodore Eirenikos, John Pediasimos, Niketas Kyprianos. There is no evidence so far referring to Demetrios Karykes as a clergyman though his theological learning was highly thought of by the Emperor; see above p. 12 and p. 115.



works have survived, was John Pediasimos Pothos. His career, established by Krumbacher some eighty years ago, has remained the traditionally accepted account of this scholar. Accordingly it has been generally believed that Pediasimos flourished during the early fourteenth century and his death has even been placed in the reign of Andronikos III (1328-1341).<sup>23</sup> Though Laurent in his fundamental study on the Pediasimos family established that John Pediasimos was active during the late thirteenth century, his study seems to have remained unnoticed until recently when Turyn expanded this view.<sup>24</sup> A closer study of the existing evidence, however, may enable us to take the investigation a step further.

The first clear evidence on Pediasimos is given in a letter addressed to him by George of Cyprus. The letter was written after John Pediasimos had given up his post as *hypatos tōn philosophōn* in Constantinople and it appears that some years had already elapsed since he was promoted to the office of *chartophylax*. This letter has been plausibly dated to before March 1283 and suggests that Pediasimos' promotion to *chartophylax* of Ochrida may have been made a few years earlier ( $\pm$  1280). At the time he had been resident and teaching in the archbishopric of Ochrida. This is confirmed by the fact that a student of Pediasimos, Doukopoulos, after he had attended his classes for a long time was sent from Ochrida to Constantinople for further studies under George of Cyprus.<sup>25</sup> The lessons Pediasimos had taught the young man are mentioned in this letter and comprised grammar, poetry, rhetoric, syllogistic and geometry. To teach such lessons in a remote province which presupposes scarcity of text-books, probably available mostly in Pediasimos' private library, would indicate a reasonably long period of time. Even more so when the young man was found well versed in those subjects by George of Cyprus.<sup>26</sup> This letter gives further valuable

23. Krumbacher *GBL*,<sup>2</sup> p. 556; Beck, *Kirche*, p. 711; Tatakis, *Philosophie*, pp. 242-43 who places his death ca. 1330-1341; *CMH*, IV, ii, p. 275.

24. See Laurent, *Légendes sigillographiques*, pp. 327-331, who is still hesitant in attributing the following seal to the *hypatos* John Pediasimos (*ibid.*, p. 328):

Πεδιασίμου ταῖς γραφαῖς Ἰωάννου  
[νέμ]οις τὸ κύρος, <ῆ> πάναγνος Παρθένος.

*Idem*, 'La correspondance de Démétrius Cydonès', *EO* 30 (1931), 350; Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, pp. 74-78.

25. Eustratiades, *Kyprios*, No 35 (Lameere No 35), *EPh* 1 (1908), 431 (Treu, *Pediasimos*, p. 48, 23-25): παιδείας δὲ τινος αὐτῷ μεταδώσωμεν, ἥς οὐκ ἔχεις αὐτὸς πλουσιώτατα μεταδούς ἀνδρὶ, καὶ ταῦτα τοσοῦτον παρακαθίζησαντί σοι τὸν χρόνον. For the dating see Lameere, *Tradition*, p. 198. This letter undoubtedly belongs to the period when George of Cyprus was teaching in Constantinople (i.e. ca. 1273/74-March 1283).

26. Eustratiades, *Kyprios*, No 35 (Lameere No 35), *EPh* 1 (1908), 431 (Treu, *Pediasimos*, p. 48, 27-30): γραμματικὴ μὲν αὐτῷ κατώρθωται, ποιητικῆς δὲ εἰς ἄκρον ἔκετο, ῥητορικὴν ἥσκηται, συλλογιστικὴν ἅπασαν συλλαβὼν ἔχει, γεωμετρίας οὐδὲν αὐτὸν παρέδραμεν, ὃ μὴ καὶ ἡμῶς.

information, for George of Cyprus says that they had studied under the same teacher (i.e. George Akropolites) while John Pediasimos pursued his studies also under a second one whose name is not mentioned in the letter. George of Cyprus goes on to remind him of the works they both studied although he admits that Pediasimos was able to devote himself to his studies over a longer period and enjoyed relative leisure which enabled him to pursue knowledge in a more profound manner than him.<sup>27</sup> It is very possible that the second teacher referred to in this letter without being named was Manuel-Maximos Holobolos who most probably taught Pediasimos before the latter joined Akropolites' classes. The evidence which enables us to identify this teacher with Holobolos is found in a letter of Constantine Akropolites addressed to a holy bishop(?) (θειότατε δέσποτα) presumably of Thessalonike in which he speaks of the death of an *hypatos* (i.e. *tōn philosophōn*). Although the *hypatos* is not named, the biographical details given in this letter make it possible for us to identify him, beyond any reasonable doubt, with John Pediasimos. The letter states that this late *hypatos* had been brought up in Thessalonike but had come to Constantinople to study under the famous Holobolos and then followed a higher course under George Akropolites.<sup>28</sup> He had studied every branch of knowledge, was celebrated for his learning and had been the teacher of many who themselves later became outstanding figures in various towns.<sup>29</sup> He died in Thessalonike after a long teaching career in that city.

What we know of John Pediasimos' life from other sources confirms these details. For example the fact that John Pediasimos was for a long time on friendly terms with scholars connected with or coming from Thessalonike to whom he sent letters from Constantinople and most probably from Ochrida suggests that even if he was not a native of that city he may have received his secondary education there.<sup>30</sup> He may also have been connected with the family of the Pediasimoi

27. Eustratiades, Kyprios, No 35 (Lameere No 35), *EPh* 1 (1908), 432 (Treu, *Pediasimos*, p. 49, 4-10): διδασκάλων ἀκηκοότες ἐσμέν, ἐγὼ μὲν ἑνός, σὺ δὲ καὶ τοῦδε, καὶ ἐτέρου πρὸς τῷδε. Τί γάρ, εἰ ὁ μὲν τις ἡμῶν πρότερον, ὁ δ' ὕστερον τοῦ αὐτοῦ; βιβλίοις τί βούλει καὶ εἶπω; πότερόν σε πλείοσιν ἢ περ ἡμεῖς ὁμιλῆσαι κατ' εἶδος, ἢ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἑκατέρουσ' ἀλλ' ὁπνίκα τοῦτο δοθῇ, τό γε μὴν τοῦ χρόνου προσίσταται· πλείων μὲν ὁ σὸς καὶ εὐμαρέστερος, ὥστε τοῖς μαθήμασιν ἐπεργάσασθαι καὶ κακοποροῦν, ἐλάττων δ' ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀνόμοιος; Fuchs, *Schulen*, p. 51.

28. Treu, *Makrembolites*, p. 30, 12-16: Θεσσαλονικεῖς . . . ἐφ' οἷς ὁ μέγας οὗτος ἐτράφη καὶ παρ' οἷς τὰ τῆς παιδείας ἐπεδείξατο, ἃ μετανάστης ἐμνήθη γενόμενος τοῖς περιγδομένοις τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν σοφοῖς συγγενόμενος 'Ολοβόλῳ τῷ πάνν, τῷ ἐμῷ τε πατρὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ἐφ' ὑψηλοτέροις μαθήμασι.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 30, 3: ὁ πολὺς ἐν λόγοις καὶ σοφίᾳ περίπυστος; p. 31, 9-12: πᾶσιν λογικὴν ἐπιστήμην ἡκριβικῶς καὶ φιλοσοφίας εἰς ἄκρον ἐληλακώς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείστοις ἄλλοις τούτων μετέδωκε· δι' ὧν καὶ πόλεις σεμνοτέρας ἐποίησε καὶ πόλιντας ἐκόσμησεν; p. 31, 13: εὖ τε ζήσας αὐτὸς καὶ πλείστοις εὐζωίας αἰτίος γεγονώς.

30. For his friendship with Phobenos see Treu, *Pediasimos*, No 1, p. 44, 27; No 5, p. 47, 34; with Beaskos, *ibid.*, No 2, p. 45, 16-19; with Tziskos, *ibid.*, No 4, p. 46, 24. Letters Nos 1, 2 and 4 (*ibid.*, pp. 44-47) seem to have been sent from Ochrida for Pediasimos complains of not

from Serrai of whom Theodore Pediasimos, a scholar and a teacher of the *enkyklios paideia*, was active during the 1340's. Theodore, too, received his education in Thessalonike and moved in its intellectual circles where he met Demetrios Kydones and Nikolaos Kabasilas.<sup>31</sup> But there is no evidence to confirm any family connection between the two.

On John Pediasimos' higher education in Constantinople we are better informed. George of Cyprus clearly refers to Pediasimos' studies under George Akropolites and this information is in keeping with what Constantine Akropolites writes in his letter. And although George of Cyprus does not specifically mention that Pediasimos had also been Holobolos' student, there is adequate circumstantial evidence to substantiate the claim. For it cannot be a mere accident that both wrote scholia on Theocritus' *Syrinx* and Aristotle's *Analytics*<sup>32</sup> and that Pediasimos possessed Holobolos' scholia on Theocritus, which in certain cases he copied out.<sup>33</sup> Indeed all this strongly suggests that Pediasimos may have attended Holobolos' classes.

Pediasimos' return to and death in Thessalonike is more problematic for so far we possess no evidence which clearly states that John Pediasimos died in that city.<sup>34</sup> There is, however, circumstantial evidence which strongly suggests

receiving any letters from his friends. He could hardly feel loneliness in Constantinople when he could not spare much time to write letters to Phobenos (*ibid.*, p. 48, 4 ff.); cf. Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 77; Laurent, *Légendes sigillographiques*, pp. 329, 330.

31. For his origins in Serrai see Treu, *Pediasimos*, p. 52 and references. For his teaching *ibid.*, p. 31, 18-19: *Οἱ πρὸς με τῆς ἐγκυκλίου παιδεύσεως κατ' ἐρωτα φοιτῶντες παῖδες*. For his studies *ibid.*, p. 3, 26 ff.: *Θεσσαλονίκην . . . ἢ καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων διδάσκαλος καὶ λογικὴ τροφὸς ἡμετέρα*. His letter (No 2) to Nikolaos Kabasilas was written after 15 June 1341, date of Andronikos III's death, for he speaks of Kabasilas' *monodia* to the Emperor, *ibid.*, p. 31, 20 ff.; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 56. This *monodia* survives in cod. Coislin Gr. 192, f. 100<sup>v</sup> ff. For possible family relation between John and Theodore Pediasimos see V. Laurent, *Légendes sigillographiques*, p. 330.

32. For Holobolos' scholia on Aristotle's *Analytica Priora*, see M. Treu, 'Manuel Holobolos', *BZ* 5 (1896), 552-53. Pediasimos' scholia on *Analytica Priora* and *Posteriora*, ed. by V. de Falco, 'Altri scolii di Giovanni Pediasimo agli Analytici', *BZ* 28 (1928), 251-269. Pediasimos' and Holobolos' scholia on Theocritus' *Syrinx*, ed. F. Tübner, *Scholia in Theocritum*, Paris, 1849, pp. 110-11 and 111-13 respectively.

33. Cf. Pediasimos' scholium on Theocritus' *Syrinx*, 2 ('*Ἀντιπέτρου*'), ed. Tübner, p. 110, col. B, 2 ff.: *τινὲς δὲ τὸ ἀντιπέτρου, ἐκ τὸ ἀντὶ πέτρας γεγενῆσθαι φασιν, ἢ ἢ ἀντιπέτρος ὁ Ζεὺς· ἀνθ' οὗ δηλονότι πέτρα ἐδόθη τῷ Κρόνῳ, ζητοῦντι τὸν Δία, βρέφος ἐτι ὄντα, καταπιεῖν*. This scholium may refer (*τινὲς*) to Holobolos' scholium, *ibid.*, p. 112, col. A, 31-34: *ἀντιπάτρου, ἡγουν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐναντίου τῷ Κρόνῳ, ἢ ἀντιπέτρου, ἀντὶ τούτου γὰρ πέτρα ἐδόθη τῷ Κρόνῳ εἰς κατάβρωσιν*; cf. also Holobolos' scholium *ibid.*, p. 112, col. B, 18-19: *τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Ἀντίπετρον, ἀνθ' οὗ πέτρος ἐδόθη τῷ Κρόνῳ*. Great similarity does also exist between Pediasimos' scholium *ibid.*, p. 110, col. B, 6-8 and Holobolos' *ibid.*, p. 112, col. B, 16-18; Pediasimos' *ibid.*, p. 111, 33-38 and Holobolos' *ibid.*, p. 113, col. B, 13-14; Pediasimos' *ibid.*, p. 111, col. B, 25-27 and Holobolos' *ibid.*, p. 112, col. B, 3-5 and p. 113, col. B, 9-10.

34. A further problem is the absence of any mention of Thessalonike in the title of the surviving works of Pediasimos. But this may be simply due to the period when these works were composed. This could also apply to the edition of Hesiod by Demetrios Triklinios *ca.* 1316-19

that he did so. But before this could be used as evidence to substantiate the hypothesis put forward above, namely that the *hypatos* who died in Thessalonike mentioned by Constantine Akropolites was in fact John Pediasimos, it is necessary first to examine the existing data. Our starting point will be again the letter of George of Cyprus. For though this letter is a reply to a now lost letter of Pediasimos, carried from Ochrida to Constantinople by his student Doukopoulos, it preserves its content. Pediasimos complained about his life in Ochrida and his wanderings among unfriendly clergy and asked for the intervention of his former fellow-student who was influential in the capital presumably for a transfer to a better bishopric. George of Cyprus advised him to use his eloquence in order to achieve such a transfer.<sup>35</sup> But we do not know whether he achieved this. Turyn who touched on this problem suggested that 'it is barely possible', 'it would be only a tentative guess' that the *megas sakellarios* of the metropolis of Thessalonike 'Ιωάννης διάκονος ὁ Πόθος who appears in a document issued in that city in January 1295 was identical with our John Pediasimos Pothos. If so, he argues, John may have dropped his middle family name Pediasimos and kept only that of Pothos.<sup>36</sup> In fact this same *megas sakellarios* 'Ιωάννης διάκονος ὁ Πόθος signed a document containing the testament of the former metropolitan of Thessalonike Theodore Kerameas as early as 12 April 1284.<sup>37</sup> If the identification suggested by Turyn is correct, which seems most likely, then the request made by Pediasimos to his friend George of Cyprus was accomplished probably after the latter was raised to the patriarchal throne in March 1283. And it seems that John Pediasimos Pothos was promoted from *chartophylax* of Ochrida to *megas sakellarios* of the metropolis of Thessalonike in or before April 1284. It is interesting that three of John Pediasimos' addressees (George) Phobenos, (Demetrios) Beaskos and (Peter) Tziskos occupied higher posts in the metropolis of Thessalonike. George Phobenos signed the document of April 1284 and was *dikaio-phylax* in January 1295.<sup>38</sup> Demetrios Beaskos who is also addressee of George

(cod. Marc. Gr. 464) (*collocazione* 762) where he refers to Pediasimos as *chartophylax* of Bulgaria; cf. Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 77 and pp. 123-27.

35. Eustratiades, Kyprios, No 35 (Lameere No 35), *EPh* 1 (1908), 432-33 (Treu, *Pediasimos*, p. 49, 20-25, 29-30): *μνημονεύεις δὲ πάντως τῶν σῶν αἰτίων . . . μετοικία τε αὐτῶν καὶ μετανάστευσις* <Treu, *μετανάστασις*>, *καὶ τὸ ἐκ τόπων εἰς τόπους ἀλλάσθαι, καὶ ἄφίλος κληρὸς, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ σὰ . . . ἐν δὴ μόνον ἀνθιστάμενον ὁρῶ χρήσασθαι σου τῇ μεγάλῃ τοῦ λέγειν δυνάμει, τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι.*

36. Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 77. The document ed. by I. Iberites, 'Ἀγιορειτικὰ ἀνάλεκτα', *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμῆς* 2 (1918), 252-57; also by Dölger, *Schatzkammern*, No 59/60, p. 163 ff. and plate 59b.

37. *Actes de Laura II, de 1204 à 1328 (Archives de l'Athos, VIII)*, ed. P. Lemerle et al., Paris, 1977, No 75, pp. 30, line 8, 32, line 57 and plates XC and XCI.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33, line 60; I. Iberites, 'Ἀγιορειτικὰ ἀνάλεκτα', *Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμῆς* 2 (1918), 253, 27 and 256, 11; Dölger, *Schatzkammern*, No 59/60, p. 167, line 36.

of Cyprus (letter No 7) and who probably came from Thessalonike was *megas oikonomos* in 1295.<sup>39</sup> Peter Tziskos was *hieromnēmōn* and then *prōtekdikos* in 1295.<sup>40</sup> All these men were linked by friendship and intellectual interests as Pediasimos' correspondence strongly indicates. They may have met in the course of their studies either in Thessalonike or in Constantinople.<sup>41</sup> It is then obvious that John Pothos was among friends after he returned to Thessalonike as *megas sakellarios*. It is not therefore surprising that the five known letters of Pediasimos survived in a manuscript (Vat. Gr. 64) owned by a Thessalonian scholar and that another manuscript (Coislin Gr. 323) containing his scholia on Aristotle was once on Mt. Athos.<sup>42</sup> On the contrary this is further evidence pointing to his close connections with this area and with men of culture from that city.

The identification of John Pediasimos Pothos on the one hand with the *megas sakellarios* of the metropolitan of Thessalonike John Pothos and on the other with the late *hypatos* mentioned by Constantine Akropolites in his letter No 121 seems reasonable. Therefore the dating of this letter which speaks of his death would be of major importance. It has been convincingly suggested that Constantine Akropolites' collection of letters followed a chronological order.<sup>43</sup> The following letter No 122 written when Akropolites was sixty years old was addressed according to its editor to the Patriarch Niphon.<sup>44</sup> If so then letter No 121 was also written during Niphon's patriarchate (9 May 1310-11 April 1314) and this may be regarded as the time of John Pediasimos' death in Thessalonike.<sup>45</sup>

In the light of the evidence discussed above it is possible therefore to sketch the life of John Pediasimos Pothos more fully. He was born *ca.* 1250<sup>46</sup> and having

39. See Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς 2 (1918), 253, 22-23, 257, 16-17; Dölger, *Schatzkammern*, No 59/60, p. 167, line 33, p. 168, lines 161-62. For his Thessalonian origin see *ibid.*, p. 170; see also, J. Bompiaire, *Actes de Xéropotamou (Archives de l'Athos, III)*, Paris, 1964, p. 100, p. 102, No 12, lines 40, 44; Trapp, *Lexikon*, II, No 2541, p. 50.

40. See Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαμᾶς 2 (1918), 253, 12-13 and 24-25; 257, 22-23; Dölger, *Schatzkammern*, No 59/60, p. 167, line 34, p. 168, lines 166-67. Most probably the *chartophylax* of the metropolis of Thessalonike in 1284, John Stavrakios, friend and addressee of 13 letters from George of Cyprus was also known to Pediasimos; see *Actes de Lavra II, de 1204 à 1328 (Archives de l'Athos, VIII)*, ed. P. Lemerle et al., Paris, 1977, No 75, p. 30, line 8, p. 33, line 61.

41. Cf. Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 77 who thinks that all these scholars may have been natives of Thessalonike.

42. See below p. 143; Wilson, *Libraries*, p. 67; R. Devreesse, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits, Catalogue des Manuscrits Grecs, II, Le fonds Coislin*, Paris, 1945, p. 311.

43. Kourouses, Glykys, p. 337 and n. 1. A personal study of these letters showed that this suggestion is most probably correct.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 340 and n. 1. For the edition of the letter see *ibid.*, pp. 337-38.

45. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 334-37 where Kourouses suggests that Akropolites' letter No 116 (ed. *ibid.*, pp. 334-35) was sent to Joseph the Philosopher either before 9 May 1310 or before 12 May 1315. The first date seems more plausible. See also V. Grumel, 'La date d'avènement du Patriarche de Constantinople Niphon I<sup>er</sup>', *REB* 13 (1955), 138-39.

46. Cf. Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 75.

finished his secondary education probably in Thessalonike he came for his higher education in Constantinople. He studied for some time under Holobolos (after 1265), most probably poetry and rhetoric, and then, under George Akropolites, presumably the *Quadrivium* and philosophy.<sup>47</sup> At an unknown date he joined the Church and so far he is known to have been a deacon throughout his life. During the 1270's he was appointed *hypatos tōn philosophōn* by Michael VIII and in that capacity he acted as public teacher of philosophy in Constantinople. His period of office as *hypatos tōn philosophōn* seems to have been of brief duration for a few years later ( $\pm$  1280) he was promoted to *chartophylax* of Ochrida and left the capital. Pediasimos' unhappy life in Ochrida, where he spent some time in teaching seems to have been cut short. For some time in or before April 1284 he was promoted to *megas sakellarios* of the metropolis of Thessalonike where he seems to have spent the rest of his life acting also as teacher. He died there *ca.* 1310-1314.

Judging from his surviving works Pediasimos' many-sided interests extended from ancient Greek mythology to poetry, higher mathematics, philosophy and law. He even dealt with medicine.

His mythological works comprise his work on the labours of Hercules based on Apollodoros and his allegorical work on the nine Muses.<sup>48</sup> He also wrote scholia on Hesiod's *Aspis*<sup>49</sup> and on Theocritus' *Syrinx*.<sup>50</sup> However, his main work in the field of commentaries may have been his scholia on Aristotle's *Analytica Priora* and *Posteriora* and on the *De Interpretatione*.<sup>51</sup>

His mathematical works comprise his geometry or *σύνοψις περὶ μετρήσεως καὶ μερισμοῦ τῆς γῆς*; a work on music (*Ἐπιστάσεις μερικαὶ εἰς τινὰ τῆς ἀριθμητικῆς σαφηνείας δεόμενα*).<sup>52</sup> On astronomy he wrote an essay on the seven

47. For Holobolos' and Akropolites' teaching see above pp. 55 ff. and 32 ff.

48. Ed. R. Wagner, *Mythographi Graeci*, vol. I, Stuttgart, 1925<sup>2</sup> (*Teubner Series*), pp. 249-259. For his allegorical work see Bassi, Manoscritti, p. 1412. Two moral poems of John Pediasimos were published by E. Miller, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Grecs de la bibliothèque de l'Escurial*, Paris, 1848, pp. 76-79.

49. Ed. Th. Gaisford, *Poetae Minores Graeci*, vol. II, Leipzig, 1823, pp. 609-654.

50. See above p. 119, n. 32.

51. Ed. V. de Falco, *Ioannis Pediasimi in Aristotelis Analytica scholia selecta*, Naples, 1926; *idem*, 'Altri scolii di Giovanni Pediasimo agli Analitici', *BZ* 28 (1928), 251-69. For his scholia on the *De Interpretatione* see Wartelle, *Inventaire*, p. 116 (No 1563), p. 156 (No 2103); Harlfinger, *Περὶ Ἀτόμων γραμμῶν*, p. 44.

52. Ed. G. Friedlein, *Ioannes Pediasimus oder Galenus Geometrie*, Berlin, 1886, with two tables of geometrical drawings at the end.

53. Ed. M. A. J. H. Vincent, 'Notices sur divers manuscrits grecs relatifs à la musique', *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi* 16 (1847), 289-315. This work was questioned by Krumbacher, *GBL*,<sup>2</sup> p. 556. But see Bassi, Manoscritti, p. 1418 for the manuscripts which contain it.

planets<sup>54</sup> and prepared scholia on Cleomedes.<sup>55</sup> These works suggest the great interest Peditasimos showed in the *Quadrivium*. The fact that they have survived in a number of manuscripts is an indication of the popularity his works enjoyed thereafter.<sup>56</sup>

He wrote a legal treatise on the permissible and forbidden marriages (*περί γάμων κεκωλυμένων καὶ ἀκωλύτων*) probably when he was *chartophylax* of Ochrida. And if he wrote it then he may have consulted the synodical decisions and works of Demetrios Chomatianos that may have been preserved there after his death some fifty years earlier.<sup>57</sup>

His medical treatise is concerned with the problem of how children born during the seventh and ninth month of pregnancy tend to survive while those born during the eighth month die. This work is influenced by the neopythagorean symbolism of numbers.<sup>58</sup>

The works that have survived give a variety of alternative titles and therefore make it almost impossible for us to decide when they were actually written. Thus, even after this reassessment of John Peditasimos Pothos' life and intellectual activities, we still know very little about his actual teaching and consequently his duties as *hypatos tōn philosophōn*. That this post was connected with and financed by the Emperor is supported by his letter to Phobenos written during his period of office. For he tells us that he carried out duties or participated in meetings which took place in the imperial palace.<sup>59</sup> Unfortunately the rest of his letters were most probably written when he was *chartophylax* in Ochrida and

54. Ed. V. de Falco, 'L'aritmologia pitagorica nei commenti ad Esiodo', *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica di Filologia-Lingua-Antichità* 7 (1923), 187-215, text pp. 197-98; cf. Bassi, *Manoscritti*, pp. 1416-17; Verpeaux, *Choumnos*, p. 162, n. 4.

55. Bassi, *Manoscritti*, pp. 1415-16 who traced this work in 23 manuscripts.

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 1413-18.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 1418. To the manuscripts mentioned by Bassi may be added at least the following: cod. Athous Iberon 4640 (520); S. P. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, vol. II, Cambridge, 1900, p. 162; cod. Hierosol. Sabaiticus 225 and cod. 25 of the *Metochion of Panagios Taphos in Constantinople*; Kerameus, *Bibliothèque*, vol. II, p. 346 and vol. IV, pp. 38-39 respectively); see also Beck, *Kirche*, p. 711; N. Svoronos. *Recherches sur la tradition juridique à Byzance, La Synopsis Major des Basiliques et ses appendices (Bibliothèque Byzantine, Études 4)* Paris, 1964, p. 63. On Chomatianos see L. Stiernon, *DHGH XIV* (1960), cols. 199-205; *idem*, *Θρησκευτική καὶ Ἠθική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία IV* (1964), cols. 1064-1066; D. M. Nicol, 'Refugees, mixed population and local patriotism in Epiros and Western Macedonia after the Fourth Crusade', *Rapport, XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, Athens, 1976, p. 10 ff.

58. Ed. V. de Falco, *In Ioannis Peditasimi Libellum de partu septemestri ac novemestri nondum editum*, Naples, 1923; ed. also by F. Cumont, 'L'opuscule de Jean Peditasimos, *Περὶ ἐπταμήνων καὶ ἐννεαμήνων*', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 2 (1923), 5-21, text pp. 14-18; a shorter anonymous account published *ibid.*, pp. 20-21; cf. Bassi, *Manoscritti*, p. 1417; Nicol, *Learning*, pp. 38-39. On Pythagorean symbolism in general see W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (English edition), Cambridge, Mass., 1972, esp. pp. 15-83.

59. Treu, *Peditasimos*, p. 48, 4-6: ἄλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν ἄσχιλος τοῦτ' ἐκείνο ἢ εἰς τὰ βασιλεία προσεδρεία καὶ φροντίς ἄλλοτ' ἄλλη.

they are not helpful as far as his duties as 'consul of the philosophers' are concerned.<sup>60</sup> He may have been appointed to this office after he had completed his studies under Holobolos and Akropolites but no official document referring to such an appointment has been discovered. As in the case of George of Cyprus, John Pediasimos' teaching appointment may have had something to do with his tutor Akropolites' departure to the West in March 1274.<sup>61</sup> It is very possible that these two scholars were then enrolled in the service of the Emperor, George of Cyprus being charged with the teaching of rhetoric, Pediasimos with the teaching of philosophy; but this is conjecture.

It was at about this period that developments in the higher ecclesiastical establishment took place when the three *didaskaloi* were reintroduced in the Patriarchal School. The earliest known evidence mentioning the existence of such a professor dates from February 1274.<sup>62</sup> The simultaneous appearance of the post of *hypatos tōn philosophōn* in the person of John Pediasimos does not seem to be accidental and strongly suggests the existence of a general plan for the reorganization of both secular and ecclesiastical higher education. This may have been made possible after Holobolos, who until then was head of the Patriarchal School, fell into disfavour in 1273, and after George Akropolites, who directed higher secular education, left for the West in the early spring of 1274.<sup>63</sup> But the existing evidence does not permit certainty on this point. Whatever the case John Pediasimos Pothos became *hypatos tōn philosophōn* during the early or mid-1270's. It was most probably in his capacity as *hypatos* that he prepared his scholia on Aristotle's *Analytica Priora* and *Posteriora* and on the *De Interpretatione*.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore according to Constantine Akropolites' letter (No 121) he was also concerned with the training of teachers, some of whom having been earlier his students were active teachers at the time of his death.<sup>65</sup>

In addition to the problems posed by Pediasimos' activities as *hypatos tōn philosophōn* in Constantinople, that is the place, the lessons and the students he taught, there is the problem of his rapid promotion to the office of *chartophy-*

60. See above p. 118 and n. 30.

61. See above p. 35.

62. See above p. 59.

63. Pachymeres, I, p. 396, 4-6.

64. The prefixes of these scholia in cod. Marc. Gr. 202 (*collocazione* 745) dated in 1292/93 (once owned by Cardinal Bessarion, cf. fol. 1<sup>v</sup>) may suggest that they were written when he was *hypatos*; see f. 178<sup>r</sup>: τοῦ ὑπάτου Ἰω(άν)νου; f. 177<sup>v</sup>, f. 181<sup>v</sup>, f. 183<sup>v</sup>, f. 226<sup>r</sup>: τοῦ ὑπάτου; f. 194<sup>v</sup>: τοῦ ὑπάτου τῶν φιλοσόφων; f. 187<sup>v</sup>: Πόθου ἐρμην(ε)ῖα; the headline in Paris. Coislin Gr. 323 reads: τοῦ σοφωτάτου ὑπάτου τῶν φιλοσόφων κυρίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Πεδιασίμου ἐξηγήσεις etc.; cf. Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, pp. 74-75, 78; R. Devreesse, *Le fonds Coislin (Bibliothèque Nationale. Département des Manuscrits. Catalogue des Manuscrits Grecs, II)*, Paris, 1945, p. 310. See also above p. 122, n. 51.

65. Treu, *Makrembolites*, p. 30, 6-8: τὰ μουσεῖα νῦν τοῦ τῶν παιδευτῶν παιδευτοῦ στερηθέντα καθ' ἓνα τε καὶ κοινῇ κόπτεσθαι χρή.



*lax* of Ochrida. The reason for this promotion, which in the case of a highly educated man such as John Peditasimos was equivalent to exile, is not known and to try to connect it with the aftermath of the Union of Lyons (1274) or with intellectual rivalry in the capital would go beyond the available evidence.

Peditasimos is not the only known commentator on Aristotle in the period under review. A number of other scholars commented on Aristotle without ever holding the office of *hypatos*. For example before him Nikephoros Blemmydes wrote text-books on Aristotelian logic and physics and commentaries on a number of other works of his.<sup>66</sup> Maximus Holobolos is reported to have commented upon Aristotle's *Analytica Priora*.<sup>67</sup> George Akropolites taught his students Aristotelian philosophy though no scholia of his have been traced so far.<sup>68</sup> A few years later, about 1300, another great teacher, George Pachymeres, wrote a paraphrase of the Aristotelian works in twelve books. Pachymeres' work seems to be a serious attempt in the field of philosophy undertaken at this period. Though at an earlier stage of his career Pachymeres served as a professor in the Patriarchal School this work as well as his *Quadrivium* suggest connections with higher secular teaching. Perhaps his office of *dikaiophylax* in the service of the Emperor might have had something to do with his teaching activities though it is equally possible that he acted as a private teacher. Nevertheless until his paraphrase of Aristotle is completely published no conclusions can be drawn on this.<sup>69</sup>

At about the same period a certain monk Sophonias, identified with the ambassador of Andronikos II in Apulia in the early 1290's, friend and correspondent of Simon of Constantinople, wrote paraphrases on Aristotle's *Categorias*, *Sophisticos elenchos*, *De Anima*, *Parva Naturalia*, *Ethica Nicomachia*, *Physica* and *Metaphysica*.<sup>70</sup> Though Pachymeres stressed Sophonias' wisdom and prudence nothing is known about his teaching activities which are suggested by his works.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless Sophonias himself in his introduction of the *De Anima* tells us that he knew the works on Aristotle by Simplicios, Ammonios, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Themistios, Psellos and especially Philoponos whom in certain cases he had transcribed. This shows clearly that all these commentaries were available in Byzantium at the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>72</sup> Sophonias' assertion is further corrob-

66. *CMH*, IV, ii, p. 246; Wartelle, *Inventaire*, pp. IX-X, esp. p. 194 with references to the manuscripts containing Blemmydes' commentaries. See also above p. 24.

67. M. Treu, 'Manuel Holobolos', *BZ* 5 (1896), 552-53; Krumbacher *GBL*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 772-73; Harlfinger, *Περὶ Ἀτόμων γραμμῶν*, p. 44. See above p. 119, n. 32.

68. See above p. 32.

69. See above pp. 62-63; see also Harlfinger, *Περὶ Ἀτόμων γραμμῶν*, pp. 345-60.

70. Pachymeres, II, p. 202, 8 ff. Ed. M. Hayduck, *Sophoniae in libros Aristotelis De Anima paraphrasis*, Berlin, 1883 (*CAG*, vol. 23), p. V; *idem, ibid., Anonymi in Aristotelis Categorias paraphrasis*, p. III; *idem, ibid., Anonymi in Sophisticos Elenchos paraphrasis*, p. V; cf. H. B. Gottschalk, 'The De Coloribus and its author', *Hermes* 92 (1964), 59; Harlfinger, *Περὶ Ἀτόμων γραμμῶν*, p. 44.

71. Pachymeres, II, p. 202, 9: *ἄνδρα σοφόν τε καὶ συνετόν*.

72. M. Hayduck, *Sophoniae in libros Aristotelis De Anima paraphrasis*, Berlin, 1883, (*CAG*,

orated by the existence of more than 160 manuscripts dating from the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century in which Aristotelian works and commentaries are included. It is precisely these commentaries that give us an idea of the method of teaching of philosophy and their eventual study would enhance our knowledge of the teaching of this subject in Byzantium.<sup>73</sup>

In contrast to this proliferation of Aristotelian works and commentaries the number of manuscripts containing Plato dating from the same period are relatively few.<sup>74</sup> Though the earlier commentaries available at this period were not strictly limited to Aristotle but also contained material from other ancient Greek philosophers including Plato and the Neoplatonists, nevertheless the official teaching of Plato seems to have been forbidden by the Orthodox Church. Platonic studies therefore had to be pursued in private, as was the case with George Akropolites and George of Cyprus.<sup>75</sup> Aristotle had an advantage over Plato since his works were more suitable for classroom use than the dialogue form of the latter. But it seems that it was the disapproval by the official Church of the study of Plato that finally led to the predominance of Aristotle in Byzantium.<sup>76</sup> Although certain Aristotelian works such as his physics and metaphysics were also considered as dangerous for the Christian faith, nevertheless his logic or the *Organon* (i.e. *Categoriae*, *De Interpretatione*, *Analytica Priora*, *Analytica Posteriora*, *Topica* and *Sophistici elenchi*) eventually became the basic text-book for the study of philosophy, and students pursuing a higher course, whether secular or ecclesiastical, had to go through this introduction to Aristotelian philosophy.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, private teachers and men of learning whose interests in philosophy extended beyond Aristotle's logic prepared their commentaries on a number of other Aristotelian works either for their students or for their intellectual circle. This may well have been the case with Blemmydes, who ran his own school, Pachymeres and Sophonias. Despite some later progress in the study of Plato the line of commentators on Aristotle continued throughout the rest of the Palaiologan period and scholars such as Joseph the Philosopher, Theo-

vol. 23), pp. 1-3. This work of Sophonias survives at least in a 13th-14th century manuscript: cod. Laur. Gr. 8, 35; cf. Bandini, *Catalogus*, I, p. 297.

73. Cf. Wartelle, *Inventaire*; the additions and comments on this work by D. Harlfinger-J. Wiesner, 'Die griechischen Handschriften des Aristoteles und seiner Kommentatoren', *Scriptorium* 18 (1964), 238-257; see now P. Moraux *et al.*, *Aristoteles Graecus*.

74. N. G. Wilson, 'A list of Plato manuscripts', *Scriptorium* 16 (1962), 386-395. From a list of 263 manuscripts only 14 date from the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century and some 11 or 12 from earlier than the 13th century. Though this study was based mainly on catalogues and a study of the manuscripts themselves might bring some changes in their dating the general picture will, it seems, remain the same.

75. See above p. 31 and p. 36, n. 21.

76. Cf. K. Oehler, 'Aristotle in Byzantium', *GRBS* 5 (1964), 133-146, esp. p. 140.

77. For the number of manuscripts each work of the *Organon* has survived see Wartelle, *Inventaire*, pp. XIV-XVI.

dore Metochites, Isaac Argyros, John Chortasmenos and George Scholarios prepared their own works on Aristotle.<sup>78</sup> The existence of these scholars filled the gap in philosophical studies during periods of imperial indifference and it is through their works rather than those of the *hypatoi* that we can trace the continuity of philosophical studies in Byzantium.<sup>79</sup>

John Pediasimos' importance as a scholar is due not only to his philosophical teaching and his short career as *hypatos tōn philosophōn* in Constantinople but also to the fact that he seems to have continued his teaching activities away from the capital both in Ochrida and Thessalonike. Of particular significance is his long residence as a teacher in Thessalonike which lasted for more than a quarter of a century. Undoubtedly he must have found the intellectual atmosphere congenial since Thessalonike at the time was the home of a number of scholars active in different disciplines. The *chartophylax* John Stavrakios, friend and addressee of George of Cyprus, for whom he copied a manuscript of Plato, is a well-known author.<sup>80</sup> The *dikaiofylax* George Phobenos is the author of two legal texts, *de casso* and *de hypobolo*, and of a short dictionary of legal terms.<sup>81</sup> The *megas oikonomos* Demetrios Beaskos is known to have been actively engaged in hymnology and ecclesiastical music.<sup>82</sup> Furthermore the metropolitan throne of Thessalonike was occupied at the time by an educated clergyman, Iakobos, later the monk Isaac who is known to have been the founder of the monastery τοῦ κυρ-Ἰσαάκ and teacher of Matthew Blastares and who may have encouraged these intellectual activities within his Metropolis.<sup>83</sup> This growing intellectual centre indubitably attracted scholars, most of whom had received their education in Constantinople or had kept in touch with the intellectuals of the capital. That Thessalonike boasted a cultural life is confirmed by the fact that George of Cyprus

78. A list of these scholars and the Aristotelian works they commented upon is given by Harlfinger, *Περὶ Ἀτόμων γραμμῶν*, p. 44.

79. For a different view see Harlfinger, *Περὶ Ἀτόμων γραμμῶν*, p. 42, who maintains that during the early Palaiologoi it was the *ὑπατοὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων* and not the great philologists who commented on Aristotle. This seems to be only partly correct.

80. An encomium of his to St. Demetrios was ed. by Ioakeim Iberites, 'Ἰωάννου Σταυρακίου εἰς τὰ θαύματα τοῦ Ἀγίου Δημητρίου', *Μακεδονικά* 1 (1940), 334-376 (= *BHG*<sup>3</sup>, 532); see also A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ἰωάννης Σταυράκιος καὶ Δημήτριος Βεάσχος', *VV* 13 (1907), 493-95; see above p. 46.

81. Ed. K. E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Rechts*<sup>3</sup>, Berlin, 1892, p. 97, n. 254. His short dictionary survived in cod. Hierosol. 25 of the *Metochion of Panagios Taphos in Constantinople*, f. 2<sup>v</sup>; see Kerameus, *Bibliothèque*, vol. 4, p. 37.

82. See above n. 80; cf. Beck, *Kirche*, p. 703.

83. His period of office had not been established yet. He appears as such in January 1295 and May 1299; see Dölger, *Schatzkammern*, No 59/60, p. 167, line 29, p. 168, lines 149-51; *Actes de Zographou, Actes de l'Athos*, IV, VV, 13 (1907), No 14, p. 34. On Iakobos see G. Theocharides, 'Ὁ Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρις καὶ ἡ μονὴ τοῦ κυρ-Ἰσαάκ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ', *B* 40 (1970), 446-50; K. Konstantopoulos, 'Τὸ μολυβδόβουλλον τοῦ μητροπολίτου Θεσσαλονίκης Ἰακώβου', *EEBS* 12 (1936), 449-53; Laurent, *Corpus*, V, Nos 465/66, pp. 340-41; *idem*, *REB* 10 (1952), 119, 120.

and later Nikephoros Choumnos and Nikephoros Gregoras had some of their books or their own works copied there.<sup>84</sup> It is in this milieu that the *megas sakellarios* John Pothos played an active part according to the testimony of Constantine Akropolites who, without giving any details, stressed his teaching activities in Thessalonike and the great number of his students.<sup>85</sup> His surviving works suggest that in his curriculum he included poetry, rhetoric, music, geometry, astronomy (probably all the four subjects of the *Quadrivium*), philosophy and perhaps medicine. It seems likely, though it cannot be proved, that some of these works were actually written in Thessalonike where most of his teaching was done.<sup>86</sup> Nor is it known under whose auspices he taught there or whether he acted as a private tutor. Nor are the names of any of his students recorded.

The presence and teaching of John Pothos in Thessalonike during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries provide a clearer picture of the intellectual background which enabled the subsequent flourishing of learning in that city. It is in this intellectually rich milieu that scholars such as Thomas Magistros and Demetrios Triklinios grew up and produced their philological and other works.<sup>87</sup>

Though John Pediasimos Pothos is the most prolific *hypatos tōn philosophōn* of this period he is not the only known one. A certain Kyprianos is addressed as *hypatos tōn philosophōn* in a letter sent to him by Nikephoros Choumnos in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.<sup>88</sup> Choumnos sent Kyprianos his *logos Peri tēs ūλης* where he argues against Plato's theory of the nature of the universe put forward in the *Timaeus* and *Parmenides*, and asked for Kyprianos' criticism praising him at the same time for his wisdom in both secular and eccle-

84. See above p. 46; Choumnos' letter No 144 to Demetrios Kabasilas, ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Nova*, Paris, 1844, pp. 167-68, esp. p. 167, 1-6 and p. 168, 12-16; Gregoras, *Correspondence*, pp. 316-17; Fatouros, Gabras, I, pp. 38-39; cf. G. I. Theocharides, 'Δημήτριος Δούκας Καβάσιλας', *Hellenika* 17 (1962), 1-23.

85. See above p. 118 and notes 28, 29.

86. None of his works refers to him as *megas sakellarios* of Thessalonike. See also above p. 119, n. 34.

87. On Thomas Magistros see Krumbacher, *GBL*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 548-50; Turyn, *Aeschylus*, pp. 67-99 and p. 104, n. 89; M. Treu, 'Der Philosoph Joseph', *BZ* 8 (1899), 47-49; *idem*, 'Die Gesandtschaftsreise des Rhetors Theodulos Megistros', *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Supplementband 27 (Leipzig, 1902), 18-30; Gregoras, *Correspondence*, pp. 348-53; Turyn, *Sophocles*, pp. 31-68; *idem*, *Euripides*, pp. 165-87; Aubreton, *Triclinius*, pp. 19-20; Irigoin, *Pindare*, pp. 180-203. On Demetrios Triklinios see Krumbacher, *GBL*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 554-56; Turyn, *Aeschylus*, pp. 100-16, esp. p. 103, n. 89; *idem*, *Sophocles*, pp. 69-86; *idem*, *Euripides*, pp. 23-52, 188-205, 222-306; G. Zuntz, *An inquiry into the transmission of the plays of Euripides*, Cambridge University Press, 1965 (*passim*); Aubreton, *Triclinius*, (*passim*); R. D. Dawe, *Studies on the text of Sophocles*, Leiden, 1973, vol. I, pp. 35-81, esp. 80-81.

88. Ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Nova*, Paris, 1844, No 42, pp. 51-52; new edition by Benakes, Choumnos, p. 381.

siastical learning.<sup>89</sup> Choumnos goes on in his letter to support the Christian point of view about the creation of the world by using the same 'means and arguments' employed by Plato, that is eloquence.<sup>90</sup> Unfortunately this letter cannot be precisely dated, so providing a chronological clue for Kyprianos' period of office, since Nikephoros Choumnos' letters do not seem to have been preserved in a strict chronological order.<sup>91</sup> Nor does the answer of Kyprianos seem to have survived. On the other hand the same *logos* *Περὶ τῆς ὕλης* seems to have been first sent by Choumnos to the *logothetēs tou genikou*, Theodore Metochites, for criticism.<sup>92</sup> It seems reasonable to assume therefore that soon after Choumnos received Metochites' answer he sent his *logos* to the 'consul of the philosophers' Kyprianos.<sup>93</sup> If so, Choumnos' letter to Kyprianos must have been written when Metochites was *logothetēs tou genikou* (ca. 1305/1306-ca. 1321).<sup>94</sup>

The 'consul of the philosophers' Kyprianos has been identified with the *chartophylax* of the Great Church, Niketas Kyprianos, who was active during the late thirteenth century.<sup>95</sup> He may have succeeded Michael Eskammatismenos in the office of *chartophylax* in the 1280's.<sup>96</sup> The first document, according to Laurent, was signed by Kyprianos some time between 1286 and May 1293. His seal on this document reads:<sup>97</sup>

Νικήτα γραφαῖς χαρτοφύλακος δίδου  
Κυπριανοῦ τὸ κύρος αἴσιον, Κόρη.

89. Boissonade, *Anecdota Nova*, No 42, p. 52, 2-3, 11 ff. (Benakes, Choumnos, p. 381, 2-3, 13 ff.); cf. *ibid.*, No 37, p. 46, 7-8 (Benakes, Choumnos, p. 380, 16-17): *ἐν δὲ Τιμαίῳ καὶ Παρμενίδῃ, πρὸς οὓς ἡμῖν ἤδη καὶ ὁ νῦν ἀγών*. This *logos* was ed. by Boissonade, *Anecdota Nova*, pp. 191-201; cf. esp. p. 191, n. 1; new edition by Benakes, Choumnos, pp. 127 ff., 136 ff.

90. Boissonade, *Anecdota Nova*, No 42, p. 52, 7-11, esp. 16-20, (Benakes, Choumnos, p. 381, 9-13, esp. 18-23): *ὁ λόγος . . . ἀποδύεται πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα . . . αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ὀργάνοις, αὐτοῖς μηχανήμασι τοῖς τοῦ Πλάτωνος κεχρημένοις*; cf. also Boissonade, *op. cit.* p. 195, 3 ff. (Benakes, Choumnos, p. 367, 115 ff.); Verpeaux, *Choumnos*, pp. 137-38.

91. Cf. his letters for instance Nos 67, 84-87 to Theodore Mouzalon († 1294) and those sent to Theodora Raoulaina († Dec. 1300) Nos 76, 77 were written before No 60 sent to the Patriarch Niphon or Nos 61, 62 sent to Joseph the Philosopher or even Nos 37, 39, 40 sent to the *logothetēs tou genikou* Theodore Metochites.

92. Boissonade, *Anecdota Nova*, No 37, pp. 45-46; cf. p. 45, n. 2 (Benakes, Choumnos, pp. 380-81); *ibid.*, No 39, p. 48, 3-4 and p. 49, 3-4: *Πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ μιᾷς δὴ τινος ψήφου, τῆς ἐμῆς, ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν τόκων . . . ἴστατο κρίσις . . . νῦν δὲ καὶ τῆς σῆς ψήφου προστεθείσης*.

93. See Boissonade, *Anecdota Nova*, No 38, pp. 46-48 for the appreciative answer of Metochites.

94. See Ševčenko, Metochites, p. 27.

95. Fuchs, *Schulen*, p. 51; Verpeaux, *Choumnos*, pp. 51, 70, 184; Laurent, *Corpus*, V, No 107, pp. 85-86.

96. Pachymeres, II, p. 115, 11; Eskammatismenos succeeded Moschabar some time after the second council of Blachernai (summer 1285); cf. Laurent, Moschabar, pp. 138-39.

97. Laurent, *Corpus* V, No 107, pp. 85-86; *idem*, *Regestes*, No 1558, p. 346; *idem*, *Les Bulles métriques dans la Sigillographie byzantine*. Athens, 1932, No 249; the text in MM, *Acta*, IV, p. 272.

He also signed a patriarchal decision of 2 June 1294<sup>98</sup> and another document of 5 October 1295 concerning the monastery of Iberon.<sup>99</sup> In September 1297 the *chartophylax* Kyprianos was sent by the Emperor and the synod together with Nikephoros Choumnos to the former Patriarch Athanasios I.<sup>100</sup> After 1297 Laurent suggests that Kyprianos was released from his duties of *chartophylax* to become 'consul of the philosophers' in the 'Imperial University'.<sup>101</sup> This is no more than conjecture. It is, however, possible that Kyprianos held the office of *chartophylax* and *hypatos tōn philosophōn* concurrently despite the fact that the former was an ecclesiastical and the latter an imperial office. The contemporary example which springs to mind is that of George Pachymeres who was *prōtek-dikos* of the Great Church and *dikaiophylax* in the service of the Emperor.<sup>102</sup> A further example is that of Emparis, who signed the tomos of 1351 both as *chartophylax* of the Great Church and 'consul of the philosophers'.<sup>103</sup> Combining an ecclesiastical with a secular office was not therefore impossible. The fact that Pachymeres does not mention Kyprianos' office as *hypatos tōn philosophōn* in 1297 does not necessarily mean that he was not given the office until that time. For Pachymeres does not even mention his own office of *didaskalos tou Apostolou* in the Patriarchal School during the 1270's.<sup>104</sup> However, until further evidence is found we cannot decide the precise time of Kyprianos' appointment to the office of 'consul of the philosophers'. Nor is there any evidence to justify any suggestion that he succeeded John Pediasimos immediately after the latter was promoted to *chartophylax* of Ochrida (± 1280).

The *chartophylax* of the Great Church, Niketas Kyprianos, was the owner of a tenth or eleventh-century manuscript containing the commentary of Hipparchos of Bithynia on Aratos' and Eudoxos' *phainomena* (cod. Laur. Plut. 28, 39).<sup>105</sup> Though this may indicate his interest in astronomy, nothing more is known for certain about his teaching activities. For apart from a letter of Kyprianos addressed to a certain doctor Evangeles no work of his has been traced so far.<sup>106</sup>

Some time before 1329 Manuel-Matthaïos Gabalas sent a letter to a 'consul

98. Cod. Laur. Pl. 5, 2, f. 387<sup>r</sup>; cf. Laurent, *Corpus*, V, No 107, p. 86; *idem*, *Regestes*, No 1565, p. 353.

99. Ed. Dölger, *Schatzkammern*, pp. 258, 259-61; cf. Laurent, *Regestes*, No 1567, p. 355.

100. Pachymeres, II, p. 253, 5-8.

101. Laurent, *Corpus*, V, No 107, p. 86.

102. See above p. 61.

103. PG 151, col. 763. He is first mentioned by Kantakouzenos in 1341 ('Αμραγ) PG 153, col. 791D, ed. Bonn, II, p. 103, 4; Fuchs, *Schulen*, p. 52 and n. 1. This may have been also the case with Theodore Eirenikos and Michael of Anchialos; see above pp. 114-15.

104. See above p. 59 ff.

105. See below p. 142, n. 60.

106. See cod. Vat. Gr. 42, f. 74<sup>v</sup>, where Kyprianos promised to fulfil a request made by his friend Evangeles.

of the philosophers' together with his works for criticism. This *hypatos* had been for some time a monk who had earlier held ecclesiastical posts and wrote theological works. Unfortunately his name is not mentioned and further evidence is needed to identify him with Kyprianos.<sup>107</sup> A few years later Nikolaos Kabasilas speaks of an *hypatos tōn philosophōn* as being his teacher without giving his name either. Kabasilas' teacher has been identified with the 'consul of the philosophers' Emparis but without any evidence.<sup>108</sup>

The above study on the 'consuls of the philosophers' during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries may be inconclusive, but certain facts emerge: From the second half of the twelfth century all but one *hypatoi* were members of the Church though they were appointed and paid by the Emperor. They also seem to have been well versed in both secular and ecclesiastical learning and in that capacity they may have acted as advisers to the Emperor for higher studies. Their office carried much prestige and it seems that those graduating under an *hypatos tōn philosophōn* were qualified to become teachers. Judging from Pediasimos' surviving philosophical writings one could assume that the *hypatoi* taught those works of Aristotle which were not regarded as dangerous to the Christian faith. Since the *hypatoi* belonged to the Church and followed its prescriptions regarding matters of faith it was inevitable that their attitude to philosophy should be tinged with caution. From the time of Psellos and Italos no attempt seems to have been made to transcend the limits imposed by the Church on secular philosophical thought. Although it is true that despite these clerical prescriptions Greek philosophers, including Plato, were known, read, copied and commented upon by scholars in private. Nonetheless this was done with great caution, particularly after the victory of the patriarchate over Michael VIII's unionist policy when the Church kept a closer eye on philosophical studies in Constantinople, thus impeding the development of philosophical thought.<sup>109</sup>

107. See Kourouses, *Gabalas*, pp. 268 and n. 2, 269, 291, 373. Kourouses inclined to identify him with John Pediasimos (*ibid.*, p. 269). This letter as well as the whole of cod. Vind. Theol. Gr. 174 was earlier attributed to Nikephoros Gregoras (see Gregoras, I, p. LVII). It was M. Treu, ('Matthaios metropolit von Ephesos', *Programm des Victoria-Gymnasiums zu Potsdam*, Potsdam, 1901, p. 13 ff.) who corrected this mistake; cf. Kourouses, *Gabalas*, p. 159.

108. B. Laourdas, 'Νικολάου Καβάσιλα, Προσφώνημα εις τὸν ἐνδοξὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρα Δημήτριον τὸν μυροβλήτην', *EEBS* 22 (1952), 107; P. Enepekides, 'Der Briefwechsel des Mystikers Nikolaos Kabasilas', *BZ* 46 (1953), 31, 28, who dated Kabasilas' letter in 1320. But see A. Angelopoulos, *Νικόλαος Καβάσιλας Χαμαετός. Ἡ ζωὴ καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ*, Thessalonike, 1970, p. 25 for the correct date. Angelopoulos identified this *hypatos* with Emparis (*ibid.*, p. 26).

109. M. Hayduck, *Sophonias in libros Aristotelis De Anima paraphrasis* (CAG, vol. 23), Berlin, 1883, pp. 151-52, where Sophonias in his epilogue supported the Christian point of view. For Nikephoros Choumnos' works opposing Plato and Plotinos see Verpeaux, *Choumnos*, pp. 17-18, pp. 133-138. See also above p. 129; cf. also cod. Ambros. Gr. H 81 sup. f. 328<sup>v</sup> letter No 173 where a friend urged Constantine Akropolites: *μηκέτι τὸν νοῦν ἐνασχολεῖν βιβλοῖς ἐλληνικαῖς, τὰς δὲ θείας ἀνελίττειν καὶ ταύτας ἐνδιατρίβειν*.

In fact it was under the auspices of the Church that the *hypatos tōn philosophōn* was reinstated long after Constantinople ceased to be the home of a Christian Emperor. For there is evidence that during the *Tourkokratia* the office was reintroduced by the Patriarch and its holders seem to have acted as directors of the Patriarchal School. Iakobos Argeios for instance was *hypatos tōn philosophōn* in October 1730 and his teaching in the Patriarchal School was most probably connected with secular education.<sup>110</sup> A student of his, John of Lesbos († 1752), was head of the Patriarchal School and 'consul of the philosophers' until 1744.<sup>111</sup> In 1778 the *nomophylax* Michael Photeinopoulos was *ὑπάτος τῶν φιλοσόφων τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας*.<sup>112</sup> This development in the office of the *hypatos* shows clearly the desire of the Orthodox Church to connect itself with the Byzantine past. On the other hand it reflects the opposite directions followed by the Orthodox East and the Latin West. For while in the West the secular authorities gradually took over secular learning from the Church, in the Byzantine East it was the Church which to a certain extent became the repository of Byzantine culture during the long period of the *Tourkokratia*. And for this role it seems that she prepared herself long before the final downfall.

110. M. Gedeon, 'Φαναριώτικα ὑπομνήματα', *EA* 3 (1882/83), 377: τοῦ ὑπάτου τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ διδασκάλου τῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν μαθημάτων τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει πατριαρχικῆς σχολῆς Ἰακώβου ἐπιτύμβιον εἰς Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν τοῦ Ραφαήλ. On Argeios see *ibid.*, pp. 372-73; cf. K. N. Sathas, *Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία*, Athens, 1868, pp. 430-31.

111. K. N. Sathas, *Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία*, Athens, 1868, pp. 460-61.

112. See 'Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος, Ἀρχαιολογικὴ ἐπιτροπή, Παράρτημα τοῦ ΙΖ' τόμου, Constantinople, 1886, p. 9 and p. 56; Fuchs, *Schulen*, p. 52 and notes 2 and 3.



## CHAPTER VI

### THE AVAILABILITY OF BOOKS AND TEXT-BOOKS USED IN HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE TEACHING OF RHETORIC AND THE QUADRIVIUM

The interest in books and the existence of libraries are clear indications that teaching carried on and people continued to value learning. Recent studies on Byzantine books and libraries<sup>1</sup> as well as studies on the manuscript tradition of classical authors,<sup>2</sup> on the subscriptions and dates of manuscripts<sup>3</sup> and even the scribes themselves<sup>4</sup> have much increased our knowledge in this field. A brief

1. Padover, *Byzantine Libraries*, pp. 310-329, esp. pp. 326-28; Wilson, *Libraries*, pp. 53-80, esp. pp. 55, 57, 61, 64, 77-80; Manaphes, *Bibliothekai*, esp. pp. 53-57, 130-34; E. Kakoulidou, 'Η βιβλιοθήκη τῆς μονῆς Προδρόμου Πέτρας στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη', *Hellenika* 21 (1968), 3-39; C. Wendel, 'Die erste kaiserliche Bibliothek in Konstantinopel', *ZfB* 59 (1942), 193-209; N. X. Eleopoulos, 'Η βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ βιβλιογραφικὸν ἐργαστήριον τῆς μονῆς τῶν Στουδίου', Athens, 1967.

2. Turyn, *Sophocles*; *idem*, *Sophocles Recension*,; *idem*, *Euripides*; G. Zuntz, *An inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides*, Cambridge, 1965; N. A. Libadaras, 'Ιστορία τῆς παραδόσεως τοῦ κειμένου τοῦ 'Ησιόδου' (Ἀθηνᾶ, Σειρὰ διατριβῶν καὶ μελετημάτων, 1), Athens, 1963; M. L. West, 'The Medieval Manuscripts of the Works and Days', *Class. Quarterly* 24 (1974), 161-85; Irigoin, *Pindare*; Aubreton, *Triclinius*; R. D. Dawe, *Studies on the text of Sophocles*, Leiden, 1973; Moraux *et al.*, *Aristoteles Graecus*; D. J. Allan, 'On the manuscripts of the 'De Caelo' of Aristotle', *Class. Quarterly* 30 (1963), 16-21; O. Longo, 'Sulla tradizione del De Caelo di Aristotele', *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. 8, vol. 15 (1961), 341-60; H. Diels, *Zur Textgeschichte der aristotelischen Physik*, *Abh. Akad. Wiss. Berlin, phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1892, 1; W. L. Lorimer, *The text tradition of Pseudo-Aristotle 'De Mundo'*, Oxford, 1924 (St. Andrews Univ. Publ., 18); E. Lobel, *The Greek Manuscripts of Aristotle's Poetics*, Oxford, 1933; R. Kassel, *Der Text der Aristotelischen Rhetoric*, Berlin-New York, 1971 (Peripatoi, 3); Harlfinger, *Περὶ Ἀτόμων γραμμῶν*; R. S. Brumbaugh-R., Wells, *The Plato manuscripts*, etc., New Haven, 1968; B. Hemmerdinger, *Essai sur l'histoire du texte de Thucydide*, Paris, 1955; A. Kleinlogel, *Geschichte des Thukydides-textes im Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1965; J. M. Moore, *The Manuscript Tradition of Polybius*, Cambridge, 1965; A. Diller, *The textual Tradition of Strabo's Geography*, Amsterdam, 1975.

3. Omont, *Manuscripts grecs datés*, esp. pp. 11-15 and plates LI-LXXVI; J. Bick, *Die Schreiber der Wiener griechischen Handschriften*, Vienna, 1920 (Museion, Abh. 1), esp. pp. 28-33 and plates XIV-XX; Turyn, *Codices Gr. Vaticani*, esp. pp. 19-109 and plates 1-87 and 159-185; *idem*, *Dated Greek MSS.*, pp. 3-116 and plates 1-88 and 219-235; E. Folieri, *Codices Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae selecti* etc., Vatican, 1969 (Exempla Scripturarum, 4).

4. Vogel-Gardthausen, *Schreiber*; Sp. P. Lampros, 'Αἱ βιβλιοθήκαι Ἰωάννου Μαρμαρᾶ καὶ Ἰωάννου Δοχειανοῦ', *NH* 1 (1904), 295-312; *idem*, 'Μιχαὴλ Λουλλοῦδης ὁ Ἐφέσιος καὶ ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων ἀλωσις τῆς Ἐφέσου', *ibid.*, pp. 209-12; *idem*, 'Λακεδαιμόνιοι βιβλιογράφοι etc.', *NH* 4

In fact it was under the auspices of the Church that the *hypatos tōn philosophōn* was reinstated long after Constantinople ceased to be the home of a Christian Emperor. For there is evidence that during the *Tourkokratia* the office was reintroduced by the Patriarch and its holders seem to have acted as directors of the Patriarchal School. Iakobos Argeios for instance was *hypatos tōn philosophōn* in October 1730 and his teaching in the Patriarchal School was most probably connected with secular education.<sup>110</sup> A student of his, John of Lesbos († 1752), was head of the Patriarchal School and 'consul of the philosophers' until 1744.<sup>111</sup> In 1778 the *nomophylax* Michael Photeinopoulos was *ὑπάτος τῶν φιλοσόφων τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας*.<sup>112</sup> This development in the office of the *hypatos* shows clearly the desire of the Orthodox Church to connect itself with the Byzantine past. On the other hand it reflects the opposite directions followed by the Orthodox East and the Latin West. For while in the West the secular authorities gradually took over secular learning from the Church, in the Byzantine East it was the Church which to a certain extent became the repository of Byzantine culture during the long period of the *Tourkokratia*. And for this role it seems that she prepared herself long before the final downfall.

110. M. Gedeon, 'Φαναριώτικα ὑπομνήματα', *EA* 3 (1882/83), 377: τοῦ ὑπάτου τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ διδασκάλου τῶν ἐπιστημονικῶν μαθημάτων τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει πατριαρχικῆς σχολῆς Ἰακώβου ἐπιτύμβιον εἰς Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν τοῦ Ραφαήλ. On Argeios see *ibid.*, pp. 372-73; cf. K. N. Sathas, *Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία*, Athens, 1868, pp. 430-31.

111. K. N. Sathas, *Νεοελληνικὴ Φιλολογία*, Athens, 1868, pp. 460-61.

112. See 'Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος, Ἀρχαιολογικὴ ἐπιτροπὴ, Παράρτημα τοῦ ΙΖ' τόμου, Constantinople, 1886, p. 9 and p. 56; Fuchs, *Schulen*, p. 52 and notes 2 and 3.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE AVAILABILITY OF BOOKS AND TEXT-BOOKS USED IN HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE TEACHING OF RHETORIC AND THE QUADRIVIUM

The interest in books and the existence of libraries are clear indications that teaching carried on and people continued to value learning. Recent studies on Byzantine books and libraries<sup>1</sup> as well as studies on the manuscript tradition of classical authors,<sup>2</sup> on the subscriptions and dates of manuscripts<sup>3</sup> and even the scribes themselves<sup>4</sup> have much increased our knowledge in this field. A brief

1. Padover, *Byzantine Libraries*, pp. 310-329, esp. pp. 326-28; Wilson, *Libraries*, pp. 53-80, esp. pp. 55, 57, 61, 64, 77-80; Manaphes, *Bibliothekai*, esp. pp. 53-57, 130-34; E. Kakoulidou, 'Η βιβλιοθήκη τῆς μονῆς Προδρόμου Πέτρας στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη', *Hellenika* 21 (1968), 3-39; C. Wendel, 'Die erste kaiserliche Bibliothek in Konstantinopel', *ZfB* 59 (1942), 193-209; N. X. Eleopoulos, 'Η βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ βιβλιογραφικὸν ἐργαστήριον τῆς μονῆς τῶν Στουδίου, Athens, 1967.

2. Turyn, *Sophocles*; *idem*, *Sophocles Recension*,; *idem*, *Euripides*; G. Zuntz, *An inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides*, Cambridge, 1965; N. A. Libadaras, 'Ἱστορία τῆς παραδόσεως τοῦ κειμένου τοῦ Ἡσιόδου' (Ἀθηνᾶ, Σειρὰ διατριβῶν καὶ μελετημάτων, 1), Athens, 1963; M. L. West, 'The Medieval Manuscripts of the Works and Days', *Class. Quarterly* 24 (1974), 161-85; Irigoin, *Pindare*; Aubreton, *Triclinius*; R. D. Dawe, *Studies on the text of Sophocles*, Leiden, 1973; Moraux *et al.*, *Aristoteles Graecus*; D. J. Allan, 'On the manuscripts of the 'De Caelo' of Aristotle', *Class. Quarterly* 30 (1963), 16-21; O. Longo, 'Sulla tradizione del De Caelo di Aristotele', *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. 8, vol. 15 (1961), 341-60; H. Diels, *Zur Textgeschichte der aristotelischen Physik*, *Abh. Akad. Wiss. Berlin, phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1892, 1; W. L. Lorimer, *The text tradition of Pseudo-Aristotle 'De Mundo'*, Oxford, 1924 (St. Andrews Univ. Publ., 18); E. Lobel, *The Greek Manuscripts of Aristotle's Poetics*, Oxford, 1933; R. Kassel, *Der Text der Aristotelischen Rhetoric*, Berlin-New York, 1971 (Peripatoi, 3); Harlfinger, *Περὶ Ἀτόμων γραμμῶν*; R. S. Brumbaugh-R., Wells, *The Plato manuscripts*, etc., New Haven, 1968; B. Hemmerdinger, *Essai sur l'histoire du texte de Thucydide*, Paris, 1955; A. Kleinlogel, *Geschichte des Thukydidestextes im Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1965; J. M. Moore, *The Manuscript Tradition of Polybius*, Cambridge, 1965; A. Diller, *The textual Tradition of Strabo's Geography*, Amsterdam, 1975.

3. Omont, *Manuscripts grecs datés*, esp. pp. 11-15 and plates LI-LXXVI; J. Bick, *Die Schreiber der Wiener griechischen Handschriften*, Vienna, 1920 (Museion, Abh. 1), esp. pp. 28-33 and plates XIV-XX; Turyn, *Codices Gr. Vaticani*, esp. pp. 19-109 and plates 1-87 and 159-185; *idem*, *Dated Greek MSS.*, pp. 3-116 and plates 1-88 and 219-235; E. Folieri, *Codices Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae selecti* etc., Vatican, 1969 (Exempla Scripturarum, 4).

4. Vogel-Gardthausen, *Schreiber*; Sp. P. Lampros, 'Αὶ βιβλιοθήκαι Ἰωάννου Μαρμαρᾶ καὶ Ἰωάννου Δοχειανοῦ', *NH* 1 (1904), 295-312; *idem*, 'Μιχαὴλ Λουλλούδης ὁ Ἐφέσιος καὶ ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων ἄλωσις τῆς Ἐφέσου', *ibid.*, pp. 209-12; *idem*, 'Λακεδαιμόνιοι βιβλιογράφοι etc.', *NH* 4

discussion therefore of the availability of writing materials, and the possession, circulation and edition of books during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries may prove helpful for the study of the sources used in higher education, particularly for the teaching of rhetoric and the *Quadrivium*.

Since higher education throughout the Byzantine period carried on along the traditional lines it was of great importance to preserve and reproduce the texts used either for teaching or for private studies. As has been shown above the Fourth Crusade and the loss of Constantinople heavily affected the continuity of higher education. Books and texts easily available in the libraries of the capital were either destroyed or scattered.<sup>5</sup> Therefore one of the preoccupations of Nicaean and early Palaiologan scholars was the rediscovery and reproduction of these texts. This process started in Nicaea with Nikephoros Blemmydes who travelled in the Aegean islands and Greece to find manuscripts and copy or take them back to Asia Minor. It was after these exploratory tours that Blemmydes was able to compose his own manuals for teaching purposes. The foundation of libraries in the Nicaean cities, too, by the Emperors John III Batatzes and Theodore II dates after these events.<sup>6</sup>

It is likely that scholars brought their books back to Constantinople after its recapture in 1261.<sup>7</sup> The Emperor himself seems to have commissioned scribes presumably in an effort to enrich the imperial and other libraries in Constantinople.<sup>8</sup> It is very possible that the patriarchal library was restored and endowed

(1907), 152-187, 303-357, 492-94; L. Polites, 'Σημείωμα περὶ τοῦ βιβλιογράφου Ἰωάννου Δούκα τοῦ Νεοκαισαρείτου', *Εἰς μνήμην Σπ. Λάμπρου*, Athens, 1935, pp. 587-95; *idem*, 'Eine Schreiberschule im Kloster τῶν Ὁδηγῶν', *BZ* 51 (1958), 17-36, 261-287 and plates 1-3, 13-18; L. D. Reynolds-N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin literature*<sup>2</sup>, Oxford, 1974; F. Halkin, 'Manuscripts galésiotes', *Scriptorium* 15 (1961), 221-27; N. G. Wilson, 'Notes on Greek Manuscripts', *ibid.*, pp. 316-320; A. Turyn, 'Michael Lulludes (or Luludes), a scribe of the Palaeologan era', *Riv. Studi Biz. e Neoell.*, N. S. 10-11 (XX-XXI) (1973/74), 3-15; R. Devreesse, *Les manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale* (Studi e Testi, 183), Vatican, 1955; J. Irigoin, 'Pour une étude des centres de copie byzantins', *Scriptorium* 12 (1958), 208-27; Ch. G. Patrinelis, '"Ελληνες κωδικογράφοι τῶν χρόνων τῆς Ἀναγεννήσεως", *Epeteris Mesaion. Arch.* 8/9 (1958/59), 63-124; P. Canart, 'Scribes grecs de la Renaissance etc.', *Scriptorium* 17 (1963), 56-82; K. A. de Meyier, 'Scribes grecs de la Renaissance', *ibid.*, 18 (1964), 258-66; J. Wiesner-U. Victor, 'Griechische Schreiber der Renaissance etc.', *Riv. di Studi Bizantini e Neoell.*, N. S. 8-9 (1971/72), 51-66; D. Harlfinger, *Specimina griechischen Kopisten der Renaissance, I: Griechen des 15 Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1974.

5. Padover, *Byzantine Libraries*, pp. 326-27; Manaphes, *Bibliothekai*, pp. 130-31; for lost classical texts still known in the twelfth century see Wilson, *Libraries*, pp. 55, 62 and n. 26.

6. Browning, *Recentiores*, p. 12; Manaphes, *Bibliothekai*, p. 55; see also above pp. 12-13.

7. Browning, *Recentiores*, p. 12; S. Kougeas, 'Ὁ Γεώργιος Ἀκροπολίτης κτήτωρ τοῦ Παρισινοῦ κώδικος τοῦ Σουῖδα (cod. Paris. Gr. 2625)', *Βυζαντινὰ Μεταβυζαντινά*, I, ii (1949), 61-74. The identification of the owner of this book brought from Nicaea to Constantinople with Akropolites is doubtful and was questioned by Polemis, *Doukai*, p. 83, n. 4.

8. Planoudes (*Letters*, No 67, p. 83, 69-70), speaks of a catalogue prepared for the library of the imperial monastery where he lived most probably after 1261 when: *πρὸς τὴν βασιλίδαν πόλιν*

if not by Arsenios then by the learned Patriarch Germanos III.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless the search for exact copies and the critical edition of texts was continued by the great teachers of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The great zeal with which they undertook this search is shown by the rediscovery of uncial manuscripts whose copying was responsible for the survival of rare works which until that time had remained neglected.<sup>10</sup>

However, it is not only the recovery of texts which was a difficult task. Writing materials, especially parchment which mostly came from Asia Minor, were in short supply and costly, especially after the advance of the Turks in that sheep-rearing area.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore parchment supply was seasonal. During Lent when fasting was practised sheepskins were not available. The best period for collecting parchment seems to have been in spring after the Easter Sunday.<sup>12</sup> This chronic shortage of parchment is attested by the great number of palimpsests whose use became more frequent from the late thirteenth century onwards. Despite the interdiction of this practice by the canons of the Church concerning

*ὁθενδὴποτε μετηνέχθησαν αἱ βιβλίοι.* Cod. Paris. Gr. 1115 copied in 1276 probably at the orders of Michael VIII: *ἐναπετέθη ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ* which refers most probably to the imperial library in the palace; see Omont, *MSS. grecs datés*, p. 13 and plate 62; C. Wendel, 'Die erste kaiserliche Bibliothek in Konstantinopel', *ZfB* 59 (1942), 193 ff.; Browning, *Recentiores*, p. 12 and n. 9; Wilson, *Libraries*, p. 57; Manaphes, *Bibliothekai*, pp. 56-57; C. Mango, 'The availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire, A.D. 750-850', *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*, Dumbarton Oaks, 1975, pp. 33-34.

9. Manaphes, *Bibliothekai*, p. 132 ff. who referring to the bibliophile Patriarch George-Gregory of Cyprus does not distinguish his activities prior to and after his elevation to the throne. The Patriarch Joseph of Galesion donated twelve volumes containing the *mēnaia* to the library of St. Sophia; see cod. Hierosol. *Metochion of Panagios Taphos in Constantinople*, No 648, f. 116<sup>v</sup>. For the poetical subscription of this donation see Kerameus, *Bibliotheke*, vol. 5, pp. 207-208. On Joseph I as commissioner of cod. Paris. Gr. 857 (A.D. 1261) and cod. Vat. Regin. Gr. 63 (A.D. 1259/60) see F. Halkin, 'Manuscripts Galésiotés', *Scriptorium* 15 (1961), No 8, p. 223, No 9, p. 224; N. G. Wilson, 'Notes on Greek Manuscripts', *Scriptorium* 15 (1961), 318 and plate 18; Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani*, pp. 44-45 and plates 19, 20. It seems that after 1261 the patriarchal library was housed in St. Sophia. Manaphes (*Bibliothekai*, p. 134 ff.) thinks that it was probably housed in the *Thomaites* for traditional reasons and he lists some of its books mentioned by Xanthopoulos in his Ecclesiastical history. Xanthopoulos, however, generally speaks of the library of St. Sophia; PG 145, col. 609D cited also by Manaphes, *ibid.*, pp. 134 and 135.

10. Browning, *Recentiores*, pp. 13-19 and references.

11. For the prices of parchment see Wilson, *Books and Readers*, pp. 3-4.

12. Eustratiades, *Kyprios* No 187 (Lameere No 228), to Theodora Raoulaina, *EPh* 5 (1910), 451 (Kougeas, *Münchener Thukydides*, p. 599, 36-42): *Τὸ δὲ βιβλίον, τὸν Δημοσθένην, ἐπισκήπτειν τῷ γραφεῖ ἐπιτάττεις, ἄστικτον τηρεῖν διόλου καὶ ἀκηλίδωτον· ἔσται γε οὕτω καὶ ἐπισκῆψομεν· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν ὁ τοῦ μεταγράφειν ἐνστατὴ καιρὸς, νυνὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐνέστηκεν, ὅτι μὴδὲ ἕαρ ἔτι, οὐδὲ κρεωφαγοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι, οὐδὲ δέρρεις προβάτων εἰς γραμμάτων ὑποδοχὴν· ἐστίται δὲ ὁμῶς ταῦτα μετὰ μικρὸν καὶ τότε καὶ γράφειν ἐπιβαλοῦμεν;* Planoudes, *Letters*, p. 261; Wilson, *Books and Readers*, p. 2.

biblical texts it seems that the majority of palimpsests contained earlier religious material.<sup>13</sup>

Though at earlier periods it seems that there were parchment factories at Corinth and the monastery of Stoudios in Constantinople, so far there is no evidence for the manufacture and trade of parchment as a writing material in the thirteenth and the early fourteenth centuries.<sup>14</sup> And although such trade may have continued on a limited scale it seems that individual scholars had to make their own arrangements to obtain parchment. Maximos Planoudes for instance complained of the high price and the poor quality of parchment available in Constantinople and he took advantage of Alexios Philanthropenos' victories in Asia Minor to obtain parchment coming from the Turkish booty. It was due to this supply of parchment that Planoudes was able to carry out his great attempt at the edition of Plutarch *ca.* 1294-96.<sup>15</sup> However, the high price that parchment fetched on the market made it often inaccessible. For example a thirteenth-century owner of a theological volume could not afford the replacement of some lost folios of parchment and gave instructions to a future owner to copy the missing text from a second volume of his.<sup>16</sup>

Not only parchment but even the cheaper bombycine paper seems to have been hardly available to the poorest scholars before the appearance and the wide spread use of the cheapest Western paper.<sup>17</sup> George of Cyprus for instance who was not famous for the quantity of his writings asked his addressees to provide him with bombycine paper which had been already used on one side.<sup>18</sup>

13. PG, 137, cols. 748-752; Wilson, *Books and Readers*, p. 3; E. Gamillscheg, 'Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung byzantinischer Schulbücher', *JOB* 26 (1977), 211-14.

14. Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando Imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, trans. R. J. H. Jenkins, 2nd ed., Washington, D. C., 1967, Ep. 52, 11; N. X. Eleopoulos, 'Η βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ βιβλιογραφικὸν ἐργαστήριον τῆς μονῆς τῶν Στουδίου', Athens, 1967, p. 23 and n. 5; Wilson, *Books and Readers*, p. 1.

15. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 106, p. 142, 36-45; No 78, p. 99, 37-42; No 109, p. 145, 10-11; No 86, p. 111, 94-96; No 100, p. 135, 3-25; No 95, p. 123, 20-27; No 115, p. 161, 35-37; see above pp. 74-75.

16. Cod. Vat. Gr. 448, f. 241<sup>v</sup>; see Devreesse, *Codices*, II, p. 199; Wilson, *Books and Readers*, p. 4.

17. J. Irigoin, 'Les premiers manuscrits grecs écrits sur papier et le problème du bombycin', *Scriptorium* 4 (1950), 194-204. According to Irigoin the earliest Greek manuscript written on Western paper is Paris. Gr. 194A of the year 1255. From the end of the thirteenth century both bombycine and Western paper are concurrently used in Byzantium; cf. the provided list of manuscripts *ibid.*, pp. 202-204; *idem*, 'Les débuts de l'emploi du papier à Byzance', *BZ* 46 (1953), 314-19.

18. Eustratiades, Kyprios, No 102 (Lameere No 105), to John Phakrases, *Eph* 3 (1909), 34: Βαμβακίνας ἐκ μόνης θατέρας τῶν ἐπιφανειῶν γεγραμμένας πέπεισμαι οἶκοι σοι παρερρίφθαι πολλὰς· αἱ δὲ σοὶ μὲν εἰς οὐδὲν χρήσιμαί, εἰ μὴ ἄρα λέγεις εἰς ἕξασιν φλογὸς ταμιεύειν αὐτάς, ἐμοὶ δ' εἰ πέμπεις, μεγάλην μὲν πληρώσαιεν τὴν χρείαν, μείζονα δὲ καὶ σὺ δι' αὐτῶν τὴν χάριν ἀποίσεις <Τρεῦ, ἀπόλη, Planoudes *Letters*, p. 197>; see also No 105 (Lameere No 108), *Eph* 3 (1909), 37-39; *ibid.*, No 39 (Lameere No 39), to Constantine Akropolites, *Eph* 1 (1908), 435: χάριτος οὐκ ἔστι μοι, καὶ δεῖσαν γράφειν, καθ' οὗ γράφειν οὐκ ἔχω. Εἰ τοίνυν σοι μέλει καὶ μέ τι

The transcription of books made by professional scribes was also a costly affair. It has recently been shown that a scribe of a relatively large parchment volume could be paid the respectable sum of 20 *nomismata*.<sup>19</sup> Though the average cost may have been less one would have thought that scientific and especially illuminated manuscripts would have cost even more.<sup>20</sup> A thirteenth century *megas stratopedarchēs*, John Komnenos Synadenos, claims that he exhausted all his riches in acquiring books in his ambition to possess the largest religious library of his day. Though only three items of his library have been identified so far (Coislin Gr. 89, Paris. Suppl. Gr. 1262 and Vat. Gr. 456) it is reasonable to assume that his private collection would have included a number of other books.<sup>21</sup>

The general Synadenos is not the only known example. We know of other educated people who possessed private libraries. The studies of Nikephoros Blemmydes under Prodromos of Skamandros in a Latin-controlled area could not be explained without a rich library containing at least the necessary mathematical and philosophical text-books. From Blemmydes' description of his studies one could assume that this library included Nikomachos' and Diophantos' arithmetics, Euclid's, *Elementa*, *Data*, *Optica* and *Catoptrica*, Theodosios' (?) *sphairika*, some astronomical texts and Aristotle's *Organon* and physics.<sup>22</sup> That Blemmydes himself equipped his school in Emathia with a good library ranging

γράφειν, ὅπως ἡμῖν καὶ χάρις τὸ μόνον γραμμάτων ὑποκείμενον γένηται, φρόντισον. Trade of paper is mentioned in a speech of Theodore Prodromos to the Patriarch John IX Agapetos (1110-1134), ed. K. A. Manaphes, *EEBS* 41 (1974), 241, 340-41: ἐπέλιπον οἱ χάρται τὰ πωλητήρια. This was due to the mass reproduction of ecclesiastical and classical texts supported by the Patriarch John IX (*ibid.*, p. 241, 334 ff.). Books since then, Prodromos complains, were accessible only to the rich (*ibid.*, p. 240, 312 ff.); Manaphes, *Bibliothekai*, pp. 153-54.

19. Wilson, *Books and Readers*, pp. 3-4 and references to the cost of a number of manuscripts; cf. also C. Mango, 'The Availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire, A.D. 750-850', *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*, Dumbarton Oaks, 1975, pp. 38-39, who attempts to translate the cost of books to present standards.

20. A future Patriarch, Arsenios Autoreianos, was only paid 3 *nomismata* for a copy of the psalter; see Pachymeres, I, p. 269, 16-19. For his patriarchate see Laurent, *Chronologie*, pp. 142, 143. On illuminated manuscripts see H. Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft*, Heidelberg, 1970; K. Weitzmann et al., *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art*, Princeton University, 1975, esp. pp. 143-77; K. Weitzmann, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H. L. Kessler, Chicago, 1971, esp. pp. 314-34; H. Buchthal, 'Illuminations from an early Palaeologan Scriptorium', *JOB* 21 (1972), 47-56; I. Spatarakis, *The portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, Leiden, 1976.

21. Devreesse, *Codices*, II, p. 218; R. Guillard, 'Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin. Le stratopédarque et le grand stratopédarque', *BZ* 46 (1953), 74-75; Polemis, *Doukai*, pp. 179-80; Nicol, *Kantakouzenos*, No 212, p. 34; Wilson, *Books and Readers*, p. 8; Brown-ing, *Literacy*, pp. 43-44. A commentary on the Octateuch (cod. Coislin Gr. 5) was copied by Theodore Lampetes(?) in 1261/62 for a military man called Komnenos Doukas who is possibly to be identified with John Synadenos Doukas; see Omont, *MSS. grecs datés*, p. 12 and plate 57.

22. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, pp. 5, 1-6, 3; cf. *CMH*, IV, ii, p. 283; see also above p. 8.

from theological to secular authors may be assumed both from his search for manuscripts made in various journeys and from the stay of his students in his remote *phrontistērion* during their course of studies.<sup>23</sup> Theodore II Laskaris probably enriched the imperial library for his private studies with secular and ecclesiastical authors and he is reported to have founded libraries in various towns of the Empire.<sup>24</sup>

George Akropolites and Maximos Holobolos who both taught in Constantinople, though they may have had access to the imperial or patriarchal libraries, undoubtedly owned private libraries. We know for example that George Akropolites left many books to his son Constantine and a book of his (Plato?) was requested by one of his students.<sup>25</sup>

George of Cyprus refers to himself as *φιλόβιβλος*<sup>26</sup> and in fact there is evidence in his correspondence that he possessed a Plato,<sup>27</sup> an Aelius Aristides,<sup>28</sup> a book containing the works of Demosthenes and other rhetors,<sup>29</sup> a volume of the letters of St. Gregory of Nazianzos<sup>30</sup> as well as two theological volumes, namely the *Ethika* of St. Basil<sup>31</sup> and a book on the prophets.<sup>32</sup> Though none of these books has been identified so far further research on this scholar may prove fruitful in this direction.

Theodore Skoutariotes, an author in his own right who became bishop of Kyzikos in the final years of Michael VIII's reign, possessed a rich private library. George of Cyprus speaks of Skoutariotes' collection which he used constantly, always borrowing a volume as soon as the previously borrowed one was returned. One of the books he requested was the scholia of Syrianos on Plato's Parmenides.<sup>33</sup> Six items of Skoutariotes' collection have been identified so far. They

23. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, pp. 93-99, esp. p. 94, 10-12; p. 95, 17-31; see above p. 13 and pp. 24-25.

24. See above p. 18 and p. 20.

25. Eustratiades, Kyprios, No 111 (Lameere No 114), *EPh* 3 (1909), 42-44; see cod. Ambros. Gr. H 81 sup., No 80, f. 296<sup>v</sup>: *Τὴν βιβλίον ἦν πρὸς τῆς σῆς ἀπητήθην σεβασμιότητος ἡραδίως μὲν ἐκτησάμην πατρόθεν καὶ γὰρ σὺν συχναῖς ἐτέραις εἰς κλῆρον ἀπενεμήθη μοι.*

26. Eustratiades, Kyprios, No 9 (Lameere No 9), *EPh* 1 (1908), 415.

27. *Ibid.*, No 14 (Lameere No 14), *EPh* 1 (1908), 419-20; esp. No 28 (Lameere No 28), *EPh* 1 (1908), 427-28.

28. *Ibid.*, No 38 (Lameere No 38), *EPh* 1 (1908), 434; *ibid.*, No 26 (Lameere No 26), *EPh* 1 (1908), 425; *ibid.*, No 62 (Lameere No 62), *EPh* 2 (1908), 206; *ibid.*, No 75 (Lameere No 75), *EPh* 3 (1909), 13-14.

29. *Ibid.*, No 100 (Lameere No 103), *EPh* 3 (1909), 33; cf. also Lameere No 227, ed. Kougeas, *Münchener Thukydides*, p. 598, 20-23.

30. Eustratiades, Kyprios, No 98 (Lameere No 101), *EPh* 3 (1909), 31; cf. Kourouses, *Glykys*, pp. 306-308, esp. p. 307 for a better edition of this letter.

31. Lameere No 227, ed. Kougeas, *Münchener Thukydides*, p. 598, 25 ff. see below p. 140, n. 37.

32. Eustratiades, Kyprios, No 30 (Lameere No 30), *EPh* 1 (1908), 429.

33. *Ibid.*, No 58 (Lameere No 58), *EPh* 2 (1908), 203: *ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀποδίδοται σοι δ' ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἐλλήφειμεν, καὶ οὐ πολλοῖς ἅμα τοῖς σοῖς βιβλίοις τὸν οἰκίσκον καταβαρύνομεν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν ἐξα-*



include the famous tenth-century codex of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* and rhetorical works by other authors (Paris. Gr. 1741), Photios' *Bibliotheca* (Marc. Gr. 450), a chronicle (Marc. Gr. 407), works by the brothers Choniates (Paris. Gr. 1234), works of John Chrysostom (Oxon. Cromwell 19) and Zygabenos' paraphrase of the epistles of St. Paul (Vat. Gr. 636).<sup>34</sup>

At about the same period a so far unidentified owner who married into the Xiphilinos family listed the books he had lent to a group of friends in the course of twenty years (1268-1287). In his library there were included thirteen volumes of both secular and ecclesiastical literature. In the former category were a Homer, the text of rhetoric (Aphthonios and Hermogenes?), the commentary of Doxapatres on Hermogenes, a book on arithmetic, another on music and Aristotle's *Organon*. In the religious books we find two books on the Old Testament, works of John of Damascus, the *Asketika* of St. Basil, St. Basil's commentary on Isaiah, a *nomokanon*, and Theodoret on Isaiah. The codex on which this note appears (Vat. Gr. 207) contains among other works Holobolos' translation of Boethius. It is interesting that five members of this scholarly group (Bekkos <George>, Manuel Xiphilinos, Penteklesiotes <John>, Iasites <Michael> and Nikolaos Skoutariotes) and perhaps the owner himself were officials of the Great Church during the 1270's and 1280's. The secular works of this collection were certainly used as text-books and this may also apply to some of the religious ones. It is therefore possible that the owner of this library was a graduate of the Patriarchal School who then followed a career in the Church and was known to the Patriarch John Bekkos to whom he lent his *Organon* on Tuesday July 2, the eighth indiction (i.e. 1280). This owner may well have been Michael Eskammatismenos who was in fact a son-in-law of Theodore Xiphilinos and also had a brother called Leo as is indicated in this list.<sup>35</sup>

γωγῆν τοῦ προτέρου ἀντείσταμεν ἕτερον. He asked for: τὰ εἰς τὸν Πλάτωνος Παρμενίδην ἐκπονηθέντα τῷ Συριανῷ.

34. A. Diller, 'Photius' *Bibliotheca* in Byzantine Literature', *DOP* 16 (1962), 389-90 and n. 6; D. Harlfinger-D. Reinsch, 'Die Aristotelica des Paris. Gr. 1741', *Philologus* 114 (1970), 28-50 with 4 plates, esp. pp. 29-30 where the codex is described. On f. 301<sup>r</sup> Skoutariotes wrote three dodecasyllables and tells us that this book was donated to him by his friend Manuel Angelos (*ibid.*, p. 34 and plate IV):

† δόσις μαρινηλ ἀγγέλιον πιστοῦ φύον †

† σκουταριώτον λενίτον Θεοδώρον †

† δῶρον ποθεινόν, ἐκ μαρινηλ ἀγγέλιον †

Devreesse, *Codices*, III, p. 52; cf. Wilson, *Books and Readers*, p. 8. See also above p. 63 and n. 67.

35. Mercati-Cavaliere, *Codices*, pp. 249-50. Though no dates are given in this note they can be established by the reference to indictions and days of the week as well as by the persons involved; cf. Grumel, *Chronologie*, pp. 259-60. The volume of Theodoret seems not to have belonged to him, see Mercati, *op. cit.*, p. 250. For the church officials who signed either the synodical document of 1277 or 1285 or both see Gill, *Union of Lyons*, pp. 30-31; Laurent-Darroutzès, *Dossier*, p. 471; Laurent, *Blachernes*, pp. 148-49; Darroutzès, *ΟΦΘΙΚΙΑ*, pp. 532-33; see also

The niece of Michael VIII, Theodora Raoulaina, was a well-known bibliophile and author in her own right. She was the spiritual daughter of the Patriarch Gregory of Cyprus with whom she exchanged various gifts and books. At one stage the Patriarch returned to her her books which outnumbered his library with the exception of two, a Demosthenes from which he wanted to copy certain works and an Aelius Aristides which needed corrections. He furthermore asked for the *Ethika* of St. Basil, a copy of which she had donated to him but which had not yet reached him.<sup>36</sup> From these three books of Raoulaina only Aristides has been identified so far (Vat. Gr. 1899).<sup>37</sup> In the correspondence of this period there is evidence that Raoulaina owned other books. Her copy of harmonics for instance was sent to Maximos Planoudes for correction. Another mathematical book of hers was sent to Constantine Akropolites who thought very little of it.<sup>38</sup> Raoulaina's love for books was well-known to Planoudes and Nikephoros Choumnos who both urged her to commission the copy or restoration of books for the benefit of other scholars.<sup>39</sup>

We have already referred to the surviving or lost autographs of Maximos Planoudes which together with his other works may have formed a collection of some twenty volumes. These included a collection of poetry (Laur. 32, 16), two volumes of his anthology (Marc. Gr. 481 and Brit. Mus. Add. 16409), another two of his edition of Plutarch (Ambros. Gr. C 126 inf. and Paris. Gr. 1671), a Plato (Vind. Phil. Gr. 21), a volume on arithmetic (Ambros. Gr. & 157), an Aratos and Cleomedes (Edimb. Adv. 18. 7. 5), two volumes of Thucydides (Monac. Gr. 430 and Casselanus Ms. hist. fol. 3), two volumes of his translations from Latin (Vat. Regin. Gr. 132 and Vat. Regin. Gr. 133), the geography of Ptolemy, a volume of works on harmonics etc.<sup>40</sup> Planoudes evidently had access to the imperial library housed in the monastery where he lived, some volumes of which he had repaired *ca.* 1292/93; but he also undoubtedly had his private collection on which he and his students had worked so hard.<sup>41</sup>

PG 141, col. 285CD; Laurent, *Regestes*, No 1447, pp. 238-40. For a certain Leo Eskammatismenos, *apographeus* of the island of Rhodes and the other Cyclades in 1263 see MM, *Acta*, VI, pp. 214-19; cf. Angold, *Laskarids*, p. 249; Wilson, *Books and Readers*, p. 7.

36. Kougeas, *Münchener Thukydides*, p. 598, 1-5, 10-17, 24 ff. (Lameere No 227). See also above p. 44 ff. and n. 68.

37. Turyn, *Codices Gr. Vaticani*, pp. 63-65, plates 36 and 168c; E. Folieri, *Codices Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae selecti* etc., Vatican, 1969, pp. 60-62, plate 40; *P. Aelii Aristides Opera quae extant omnia*, vol. I, ed. F. W. Lenz, preface by C. A. Behr, Lugduni Batavorum, 1976, pp. XXXVIII-XXXIX.

38. See above p. 78 and p. 109; see also Appendix, No 60, p. 164.

39. See Choumnos' letter No 77, ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Nova*, Paris, 1844, p. 94, 7-9; Planoudes, *Letters*, No 68, p. 87, 69 ff.

40. See above p. 70 ff. N. G. Wilson has kindly informed me that the Theocritian part of Paris. Gr. 2722 is another autograph of Planoudes. See now N. G. Wilson, 'Planudes and Triclinius', *GRBS* 19 (1978), 389-394 and plate 3.

41. See above p. 71 and n. 27.

Another scholar of this period some of whose books are mentioned in literary sources is Constantine Akropolites. Apart from a number of books mentioned in one of his letters, Constantine says in his will that his father also left him money in order to pursue his studies, and it seems likely that he spent a large proportion of this inheritance on the acquisition of books which were probably the most expensive element of one's studies.<sup>42</sup> However, in his correspondence, apart from reference to books he possessed, Constantine gives some particularly valuable information about his own library. For in one of his letters (No 80) he says that he kept his books in a box in a special room.<sup>43</sup> In another letter (No 59) he tells us that he had a study in his house which presumably was the same room in which he kept his books.<sup>44</sup> In this library among other books Akropolites included Plato's *Menon*, works of Demokritos and Herakleitos,<sup>45</sup> Plotinos,<sup>46</sup> Pisides' poems,<sup>47</sup> the *Hiera Hoplothēkē*,<sup>48</sup> and Aelius Aristides.<sup>49</sup>

Nikephoros Moschopoulos, the metropolitan of Crete (ca. 1283-1315/16) was another collector of books. Eight volumes of his library mostly theological but also including a Homer's *Odyssey* (Bibl. Malatestiana, Cod. Cesen. 27. 2) have been identified.<sup>50</sup> However, the actual size of his library is indicated by the fact that four horses were needed to carry the metropolitan's luggage ca. 1305/1306 which seems to have consisted mainly of his books.<sup>51</sup>

One would have liked to know more about the private libraries of distinguished teachers of this period such as Blemmydes, George Akropolites, Holobolos and Pachymeres. The fact, however, that their correspondence has either been lost or only survived in part deprives us of valuable information on this subject. Perhaps a few more examples from other scholars may be relevant on this issue. In the Nicaean period Babouskomites possessed a volume of Aristotle ca. 1250.<sup>52</sup> An educated monk, Theodosios Prinkips, who served Michael VIII as ambassador to the Mongols and then was raised to the patriarchal throne of Antioch (after May 1275-early 1283), owned among other books Aristotle's physics, books

42. See above p. 138, n. 25; M. Treu, 'Νέος κώδιξ τῶν ἔργων τοῦ μεγάλου λογοθέτου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Ἀκροπολίτου', *ΔΙΕΕΕ* 4 (1892), 48; see also above p. 41, n. 50.

43. Ambros. Gr. H 81 sup., f. 296<sup>v</sup>: ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπεργείῳ παρενθὺς τῶν οἰκημάτων γενέσθαι καὶ τοῦ κιβωτίου τὸ ζητούμενον (i.e. the book) ἀνελεῖσθαι.

44. See Appendix, No 59, p. 164, 36-37.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 163, 13 and 17.

46. Ambros. Gr. H 81 sup., No 95, f. 306<sup>r</sup>.

47. *Ibid.*, No 78, f. 296<sup>r</sup>.

48. *Ibid.*, No 61, f. 291<sup>r</sup>; cf. Pachymeres, II, p. 32, 10-11; p. 92, 14; PG 142, col. 536C.

49. Eustratiades, Kyprios, No 38 (Lameere No 38), *EPh* 1 (1908), 434-35; *ibid.*, No 169 (Lameere No 183), *EPh* 5 (1910), 215.

50. See above p. 103 and n. 91.

51. L. Levi, 'Cinque lettere inedite di Manuele Moscopulo', *SIFC* 10 (1902), 61, 27-29, 32; 62, 6-7; 63, 13-15; cf. Ševčenko, Moschopoulos, p. 134; Browning, Recentiores, p. 13.

52. See above p. 16.

VI-VIII (cod. Laur. Gr. 87, 24).<sup>53</sup> A certain deacon Kallistos possessed in the 1270's the best copy of Aristotle's *Ethics*.<sup>54</sup> Twenty years later another Kallistos, perhaps the same person, owned a very good text of Homer's *Iliad*.<sup>55</sup> Manuel Bryennios possessed a reliable Diophantos in the 1290's.<sup>56</sup> At about the same time Choumnos owned Aristotle's *Meteora* together with the commentary of Alexander of Aphrodisias.<sup>57</sup> At the very end of the thirteenth century Theodore Xanthopoulos owned a volume of epigrams.<sup>58</sup> George Lakapenos who took with him his books to 'Thessaly', possessed a Libanios among other books.<sup>59</sup> The *hypatos tōn philosophōn* Kyprianos owned the oldest surviving manuscript of Hipparchos' commentary on Aratos' and Eudoxos' *phainomena* (cod. Laur. Gr. 28, 39).<sup>60</sup>

Outside Constantinople we know of three rich libraries in the early fourteenth century: the one in Trebizond, the other in Nicaea and the third in Thessalonike. For in a poetical subscription written in his book of Homer's *Iliad* (Ambros. Gr. 463 (I 58 sup.) Constantine Loukites says that apart from glory he acquired *πολλὰς πικτίδας* in Trebizond.<sup>61</sup> A fourteenth-century owner listed his books kept in a monastery in Nicaea. In his collection he included some twelve volumes of which only three were exclusively theological. Among secular authors he possessed an important twelfth-century manuscript of Lysias on which the list of his books was written (cod. Palatinus Heidelbergensis 88), an Iosepos, a commentary by Psellos, Aristotle's *De caelo*, a Pisides and some legal texts and treaties of the Komnenian Emperors. His collection also included a volume of legal works of the Patriarch Niphon (1310-14) which gives us a *terminus post quem*

53. Bandini, *Catalogus*, III, cols. 408-409; Moraux *et al.*, *Aristotele Graecus*, pp. 326-27. This parchment volume written in a "sehr saubere und schone Schrift" was dated *ca.* 1250 (*ibid.*, p. 327). If it was commissioned by Prinkips, however, which is not specified in the ownership entry (f. 178<sup>v</sup>, f. 179<sup>v</sup>), then it may have been copied few years later. On Prinkips see Pachymeres, I, pp. 596-97; p. 126, 17-23; pp. 174, 13-175, 4; p. 402, 4-20; pp. 436, 18-438, 14; p. 507, 9-10; *ibid.*, II, pp. 55, 15-56, 8; see also G. Mercati, 'Origine Antiochena di due codici Greci del secolo XI', *AB* 68 (1950), 210-22, esp. pp. 219-21. On the family of Prinkips Cheilas, see Polemis, *Doukai*, p. 171; see also I. K. Bogiatzides, 'ΟΙ Προγχιπες Χειλᾶδες τῆς Λακεδαίμονος', *NH* 19 (1925), 192-209.

54. Eustratiades, Kyprios, No 47 (Lameere No 47), *EPh* 2 (1908), 196.

55. Cod. Ambros. Gr. 442 (H 81 sup.), No 25, ff. 277<sup>v</sup>-278<sup>r</sup>.

56. See above p. 74 and n. 41.

57. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Nova*, Paris, 1844, No 76, p. 92, 17-20.

58. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 28, p. 45, 3.

59. Lindstam, *Lakapenos and Zarides*, No 16, p. 114, 27-29 and scholium.

60. Bandini, *Catalogus*, II, col. 64; cf. C. Manitius, *Hipparchi in Arati et Eudoxi Phaenomena Commentariorum Libri tres*, Leipzig, 1894 (*Teubner Series*), p. IV and p. IX where following Bandini's Latin translation of the subscription he refers to the owner as Nicetae Cyprii. Cod. Vat. Gr. 191 of *ca.* 1296/98 written in Constantinople is the second oldest manuscript containing this commentary which, however, derived its text from elsewhere (cf. *ibid.*, p. XVIII and p. XX). At the end of the thirteenth century therefore there were at least 3 manuscripts of Hipparchos in the capital. On Vat. Gr. 191 see Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani*, pp. 89-97 and plates 54-68 and 179.

61. Martini-Bassi, *Catalogus*, vol. I, p. 557; Browning, *Literacy*, p. 45.

for this list. Unfortunately it cannot be more accurately dated. Nevertheless the existence of this library in Nicaea is a clear indication that some texts used in higher education continued to be available there long after this city ceased to be the centre of Byzantine learning.<sup>62</sup> A more interesting library existed in Thessalonike. Its owner listed his books both theological and secular which amounted to some twenty-seven volumes. Apart from twelve theological books he included in his collection a Homer, a Sophocles, a Euripides, works of Synesios, Aeschines, the Emperor Julian, Themistios, Arrianos, Dionysios (of Halikarnassos), Isocrates, Philostratos etc. all in one volume, and some ten volumes of medical works of Hippocrates, Galen and Paul (of Aegina). The volume in which the list was written (Vat. Gr. 64) is a collection of prose writers mainly epistolographers. What is unusual in this collection is the large proportion of medical works. Though the list itself gives no evidence of its owner one might presume that he was a highly educated doctor active in that city.<sup>63</sup>

How precious books were is shown by the following incident. Andronikos Zarides had lent some money to a certain Moschabar in the early fourteenth century and was given some books as security. Moschabar's delay in paying his debt made Lakapenos, who acted as mediator for his friend at that time in Meletonikon, threaten him with the sale of his books should he fail to return the money. Only part of this sum would have been needed to cover the loan.<sup>64</sup>

A leading scholar of this period, Nikephoros Choumnos, compares the scholars who did not possess books with bad craftsmen who were not familiar with the tools of their craft for, he says, it is the books which are the means of learning and those who pursue higher studies without them try in vain.<sup>65</sup> Choumnos' view represents a general attitude in Byzantium and in a recent study it has been shown that book-owning and the habit of reading spread far beyond the narrow circle of the highly educated people.<sup>66</sup>

62. Ed. R. Schöll, 'Zum Codex Palatinus des Lysias', *Hermes* 11 (1876), 203. On this manuscript see Th. Thalheim, *Lysiae Orationes*, Leipzig, 1901 (*Teubner Series*); Sp. P. Lampros, *NH* 1 (1904), 97-98. Gregoras, I, p. 259, 17-20 refers to the Patriarch Niphon as completely uneducated; see also *ibid.*, p. 180, 18-19 where the same statement is made for the Patriarch Athanasios.

63. The note ed. by H. Usener, *Dionysii Halicarnasei Opuscula*, vol. I, Leipzig, 1899 (*Teubner Series*), p. XI; cf. Turyn, *Codices Graeci Vaticani*, p. 47; Wilson, *Books and Readers*, pp. 7-8. There is no evidence to identify this collector with the imperial *aktouarios* Kabasilas who was at the death-bed of Michael VIII (Pachymeres, I, p. 530, 10) and resident in Thessalonike in 1296; see R. P. L. Petit et B. Korabiev, *Actes de Chilandar, Actes de l'Athos, V, VV* 17 (1911), Supplement, No 12, p. 30, 14-15.

64. Lindstam, *Lakapenos and Zurides*, No 23, p. 147, 1-23, esp. 15-22 and scholium. This Moschabar may well have been a relative of George Moschabar who was professor of the gospel in the Patriarchal School in 1281 and *chartophylax* of the Great Church in 1285; see above pp. 60-61.

65. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Nova*, Paris, 1844, No 77, p. 93, 1-16.

66. Browning, *Literacy*, pp. 42-46.

From this brief survey of books owned by thirteenth and early fourteenth-century scholars, either mentioned in literary sources or identified so far in surviving manuscripts, it becomes obvious that the Byzantines of this period highly valued books and made every effort to acquire this luxurious commodity. A glance at the *testimonia* of the critical editions of some of their works shows that these scholars were familiar with a wide range of theological, classical and post-classical Greek writings. To mention only an example of a grammarian and rhetor, George Lakapenos, who is not the best representative of his age, he cited in his commentary on some thirty letters (*epimerismoι*) thirty-three classical and post-classical authors more than five hundred times. The most frequently cited authors are Aristophanes, Homer, Synesios, Libanios, Demosthenes, Aelius Aristides, Sophocles, Thucydides, Euripides and Plato. One is surprised, however, to see quotations from Eunapios, Herondas, Simonides and Solon and though Lakapenos may have taken some of his references directly from *lexica* the familiarity of the scholars of his day with these authors seems to be unquestionable.<sup>67</sup>

Nevertheless scholars, schoolmasters and students were not always rich enough to buy books and in order to meet their needs they were forced either to borrow books from those who possessed them or to copy them themselves. This is one of the reasons why so many autographs of Byzantine scholars are known today.<sup>68</sup> Some of the books mentioned above as owned by individuals are known to us because they were requested by friends in their correspondence, and there is hardly a collection of letters where exchanges of books are not involved. Sometimes books were sent long distances. Such is the case of a book sent from 'Thessaly' to Nikephoros Blemmydes in Asia Minor.<sup>69</sup> George of Cyprus acquired the works of a rhetor he was very anxious to study from a monastery.<sup>70</sup> Maximos Planoudes while in Ephesos lent his translation of Boethius to a doctor there and after four years he gave instructions for its safe return.<sup>71</sup> His book on harmonics lent to a certain Autoreianos seems to have crossed the Bosphoros and a search for it was made in the area of Nymphaion.<sup>72</sup> Constantine Akropolites requested an *Epitomē* of the Aristotelian works to be sent from Thessalonike in

67. Lindstam, *Lakapenos and Zarides*, pp. 209-225; R. Browning, 'Homer in Byzantium', *Viator* 6 (1975), 20-21. For a discussion of the sources used by Nikephoros Choumnos, Theodore Hyrtakenos, Thomas Magistros and George of Cyprus see Verpeaux, *Choumnos*, pp. 117-122. On Metochites' sources see Ševčenko, *Metochites*, esp. p. 23 and n. 30.

68. Cf. Wilson, *Books and Readers*, p. 10.

69. Laskaris, *Letters*, Appendix III, No 23, p. 310, 3-4, 8-10; cf. also Wilson, *Libraries*, p. 71 where he refers to long distance borrowings from the monastery of St. John of Patmos.

70. Eustratiades, *Kyprios*, No 89 (Lameere No 90), *EPh* 3 (1909), 25-26.

71. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 5, pp. 12, 68-13, 81.

72. *Ibid.*, No 106, p. 142, 30-35.

order to make a copy for his own library.<sup>73</sup>

As far as the copying of books by scholars is concerned the case of Planoudes discussed above is not the only known example. George of Cyprus says that because of his poverty and his great love for books, though he was not a skilful scribe, he copied for his own use more books than any scholar before him.<sup>74</sup> Two autographs of George Pachymeres' paraphrase of the Aristotelian works have been recently discovered (cod. Berol. Ham. 512 and Paris. Gr. 1930).<sup>75</sup> A manuscript in Venice (Marc. Gr. 202) (*collocazione* 745) dated in 1292/93 containing Aristotelian works with scholia of John Pediasimos and others 'looks like a student's book' and may originate with one of the students attending his classes if it is not in his own hand.<sup>76</sup> A section of Theodore Skoutariotes' book (Paris. Gr. 1234) was written with his own hand.<sup>77</sup> Even a manuscript written by Theodora Raoulaina (Vat. Gr. 1899) who does not seem to have had financial difficulties has survived.<sup>78</sup> It is interesting that John Chortasmenos nearly 150 years after Theodore II's death identified the Emperor's handwriting probably in some of his personal works.<sup>79</sup> These observations indicate that copying was also a pleasure for scholars who took a personal delight in calligraphy.

However, the scholars of this period did not simply copy or collect books, tasks which were undertaken even by comparatively uneducated professional scribes or bibliophiles. They were above all commentators and editors of texts used in schools or of general interest. The edition of a text was made by collat-

73. Codex Ambros. Gr. H 81 sup., No 137, ff. 322'-322". The author of this work referred to as: ἀρετῇ σοφώτατε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ θειότατε might have been Joseph the Philosopher who was active both in Constantinople and Thessalonike.

74. Lameere, *Tradition*, p. 189, 19-24: καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸ μεταγράφειν τὰ τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν ἐκπονήματα, πόνοι. "Ἐτυχε γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ πένης εἶναι καὶ τῶν βιβλίων κατακόρως ἐρῶν. Ἐτυχε δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸ γράφειν μετρίως ἀγαθὰς ἔχων τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἐπειδὴ περὶ χρήμασιν οὐκ ἦν τὰ φιλτάτα κτήσασθαι, τοῖς ἰδίοις ἰδρωσὶν ἐκτίσαστο καὶ βιβλίων ἀντιγραφεὺς γέγονεν ὧσων οὐδεὶς σχεδὸν ἔτερος, τῶν λόγων φημὶ μετιόντων.

75. Harlfinger, *Περὶ Ἀτόμων γραμμῶν*, pp. 357-60 and plates 24-26; cod. Paris. Gr. 448 (Regius 2269) copied in July 1299 by Andronikos Lependrenos and containing the works of Dionysios the Areopagite together with Pachymeres' paraphrase may also have been connected with or corrected by Pachymeres; see Omont, *MSS. grecs datés*, p. 14 and plate LXXI.

76. Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 78 and plates 55, 56. On Pediasimos see above p. 124, n. 64. For a manuscript written by Constantine Akropolites in 1291/92 (Hierosol. S. Sepulcri 40) see Ševčenko, *Metochites*, p. 23, n. 25; codex Paris. Gr. 2390 might originate from Manuel Bryennios; see above p. 96 and n. 43.

77. D. Harlfinger and D. Reinsch, 'Die Aristotelica des Paris. Gr. 1741', *Philologus* 114 (1970), 34.

78. See above p. 140, n. 37.

79. See cod. Ambros. Gr. 512 (M 46 sup.), ff. I'-II'; Martini-Bassi, *Catalogus*, p. 617; cf. I. Ševčenko, 'Some autographs of Nicephorus Gregoras', *Zbornik Radova*, 8, 2 (Mélanges Georges Ostrogorsky, II), 443 and n. 24. For another copyist Emperor, Leo VI (886-912), see Manaphes, *Bibliothekai*, pp. 43-44.

ing as many manuscripts as possible and then establishing the correct text from these manuscripts. We have already mentioned the disastrous effects on books of the Fourth Crusade and the efforts of Blemmydes in collecting manuscripts during the Nicaean period. It has also been shown that after the recovery of Constantinople in 1261 many books found their way back to the capital.<sup>80</sup> Yet correct texts were hardly available and search for such books could take a long time. George of Cyprus for example was searching for an exact text of Aristotle's Ethics and though he had examined some manuscripts he was not satisfied. But as soon as he was informed of the existence of such a copy he immediately wrote to the owner requesting his book.<sup>81</sup> The painstaking efforts to establish a good copy are shown in the case of another book of George of Cyprus, the rhetor Aelius Aristides. To complete this copy which he had written with his own hand he gave it to his student Neokaisareites to collate it with another copy. He then sent it to Constantine Meliteniotes asking him either to correct it or to make a sign in the margin where correction was needed.<sup>82</sup> His Aristides was lent to somebody to be copied but the careless scribe had damaged his book with ink and oil and he therefore requested Constantine Akropolites' copy to correct his own.<sup>83</sup> Even during his patriarchate George of Cyprus continued his interest in Aristides and asked again for Akropolites' copy to complete two works of his book for, though he was preoccupied with ecclesiastical affairs at the time he wanted his book to remain an exact copy and a model edition for future generations.<sup>84</sup> It was probably after George of Cyprus had completed his own copy that he undertook to correct Raoulaina's own version of Aristides which may be her autograph volume of this rhetor.<sup>85</sup> George of Cyprus communicated his long experience to his students. At one stage he advised his student Neokaisareites who owned an incomplete book to search everywhere and discover books of the same author in order to be able to complete the missing section of his own copy.<sup>86</sup>

80. Browning, *Recentiores*, p. 14; see also above p. 134, and n. 5.

81. Eustratiades, *Kyprios*, No 47 (Lameere No 47), *EPh* 2 (1908), 196.

82. *Ibid.*, No 26 (Lameere No 26), *EPh* 1 (1908), 425-26; No 75 (Lameere No 75), *EPh* 3 (1909), 13-14.

83. *Ibid.*, No 38 (Lameere No 38), *EPh* 1 (1908), 434-35.

84. *Ibid.*, No 169 (Lameere No 183), *EPh* 5 (1910), 216: νυνὶ δὲ πόνος ἄλλος ἐπείγει, ὁ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν δηλονότι πραγμάτων . . . (but I want to complete this book) . . . ἵν' εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ κεχρήσομαι . . . τοῖς δ' οὖν μετέπειτα τῶν φιλολόγων διδασκαλεῖον ἀκριβὲς τῆς τῶν λόγων ἀπεργασίας καὶ ἀγαθὸν παράδειγμα σώζοιτο. Ἐλλείπει δὲ δήπου αὐτῷ μέρος μέντοι τοῦ πρὸς βασιλέα λόγου, μέρος δὲ τι καὶ τοῦ αἰγυπτίου, ὃν καὶ περὶ τοῦ Νείλου οἱ γε ἀκριβέστερον ἐφιστάγοντες ἐπιγράφουσιν. These two incomplete *logoi* are to be seen in B. Keil, *Aelii Aristides Smyrnaei quae supersunt Omnia*, Berlin, 1898, vol. II, pp. 253-303.

85. Kougeas, *Münchener Thukydides*, p. 598, 12-14 (Lameere No 227); see above p. 140, n. 37.

86. Eustratiades, *Kyprios*, No 11 (Lameere No 11), *EPh* 1 (1908), 418: πρῶτα μὲν βιβλία πλείω, εἰ μὴ ἔνεστι συνέχον ὅποσα τὸ σὸν, ἀπανταχόθεν ζητήσεις . . . ἵν' ἐκείθεν τὸ λείπον προσυναπληρώσης τῷ σῷ.



George of Cyprus is not unique. On the contrary his activities marked the beginning of a long process of editions of texts of all kinds. Constantine Akropolites for instance requested a good text of Pisides to correct his own old copy.<sup>87</sup> Also in a letter sent to a cleric he speaks of an incomplete book owned by his addressee which needed corrections.<sup>88</sup> The intellectual activities of Maximos Planoudes and his constant demands for parchment and books needed for his various editions have already been discussed.<sup>89</sup> A characteristically laborious example is Planoudes' edition of the Greek anthology. By 1280 he had acquired epigrams which he included in an autograph volume (Laur. Gr. 32, 16). During the 1290's he undertook the edition of a collection of epigrams based on Constantine Kephala's anthology. But after he had completed his work he found another book, probably the one borrowed from Theodore Xanthopoulos, and thus he made additions as appendices to the first four books. He gave instructions that the appendices should be unified with the corresponding chapters of the anthology which actually were to be carried out few years after Planoudes' death by Demetrios Triklinios.<sup>90</sup>

After the transcription of the text was completed a final check by the editor or a specialist on the subject was necessary in order to correct the mistakes made by the employed scribes. This explains the many erasures, corrections and marginal notes made by Planoudes and other scholars.<sup>91</sup> Theodora Raoulaina had three of her books sent for correction to George of Cyprus, Planoudes and Constantine Akropolites.<sup>92</sup> Akropolites himself asked a friend to correct both his own mistakes and those made by the scribe in a personal volume containing his works.<sup>93</sup>

If the edited author was a text-book used in schools then it was usually accompanied by scholia in the margins which if they were *παλαιά* were, it seems,

87. Cod. Ambros. Gr. H 81 sup., No 78, f. 296<sup>r</sup>.

88. *Ibid.*, No 70, ff. 293<sup>v</sup>-294<sup>r</sup>: f. 293<sup>v</sup>: "Εφην . . . ἑλληπῆ τὴν βιβλίον εἶναι . . . f. 294<sup>r</sup> ἡ στείλον τὸ βιβλίον εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν ἢ κόπον θελήσας ἀπαλλάξει αὐτὸς ἀναπλήρωσον.

89. See above p. 70 ff.

90. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 28, p. 45, 3-5: . . . τὴν τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων βιβλίον αἰτήσαντί μοι . . . ; see cod. Venet. Marc. Gr. 481, f. 81<sup>v</sup>: ὁμοία τοῖς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τμήματι, μετὰ τὸ γράφῃναι ἐκεῖνα ἐξ ἑτέρου βιβλίου συναθροισθέντα κατὰ κεφάλαια, ὀφείλοντα δὲ σὺν ἐκείνοις γράφεσθαι, ἕκαστον κεφάλαιον σὺν τῷ ἀρμόζοντι κεφαλαίῳ; cf. British Museum Add., No 16409, f. 90<sup>r</sup>; cf. Planoudes, *RE* 20, 2 (1950), cols. 2236-2239; Wendel, *Planoudea*, pp. 423-25; Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 91 and plates 71, 73; *idem*, 'Demetrius Triclinius and the Planudean Anthology', *EEBS* 39-40 (1972/73), 403-450, esp. pp. 408-29.

91. See above p. 88 and n. 145. For a Planoudean correction of a scholium of Tzetzes on Aristophanes' *Ploutos* see W. J. W. Koster et D. Holwerda, 'De Eustathio, Tzetzza, Moschopulo, Planude, Aristophanis Commentatoribus', *Mnemosyne*, Series IV, vol. 7 (1954), 155-56.

92. See above pp. 109, 140; see also Appendix, No 60, p. 164.

93. Cod. Ambros. Gr. H 81 sup., No 186: f. 331<sup>v</sup>: τὸ πύξιον αἰτῶ διελθε . . . f. 332<sup>r</sup> δὲ τέ μοι τῷ ἐκτεθειμένῳ καὶ δὲ τῷ μεταγραφῷ ἐσφαλταὶ τε καὶ διήμαρται . . . ἡμῖν γνωρίσας φροντίδος οὐ μικρᾶς ἀπαλλάξαις.

copied concurrently with the text or sometimes after the text was copied, space having been left for this purpose.<sup>94</sup> But most of the great teachers of this period, though they knew older commentaries, wrote their own additional scholia and interlinear glosses which were to be reproduced later thus showing to modern philologists the popularity which certain editions and commentaries had enjoyed.<sup>95</sup>

After having been bound an acceptable copy was finally ready for the editor.<sup>96</sup> Nevertheless this edition could only refer to the best manuscript in the area in which it was edited, since exact texts were not always employed. Even so a new copy made from this manuscript would involve similar work and apart from the corrections would mainly carry the same mistakes. It is during this period that classical texts have in some cases been altered by their editors and we can usually—but not always—establish better readings from earlier manuscripts and papyri which were unknown to these scholars.<sup>97</sup> It must be stressed, however, that if these scholars had not undertaken their editions based on collection and reproduction of earlier manuscripts our knowledge of Greek classical texts would undoubtedly have been much more limited.<sup>98</sup>

Nevertheless the intellectuals of this period were not producing only for posterity. They had students and followers. Above all they had the official support of the Church and the patronage and protection of the State by whom most of these scholars were employed. The intellectual movement of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries could hardly have flourished if this protection and encouragement had been withheld. Some examples may suffice. We have seen Demetrios Karykes leading the intellectual circle which examined the young Nikephoros Blemmydes *ca.* 1223 at the orders and in the presence of the Emperor John III Batatzes. A few years later in 1239 the Empress Eirene encouraged and participated in an astronomical discussion with which George Akropolites seems to have made his debut in politics.<sup>99</sup> Another discussion by intellectuals

94. This is the case with cod. Laur. Conventi Soppressi 139 (A.D. 1291) containing Homer's Iliad; cf. Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS.*, p. 73 and plate 54.

95. For the popularity of works by scholars of this period see above p. 47 ff., p. 88 ff., p. 105 ff., and p. 123.

96. For the existence of *βιβλοποιοὶ* and *βιβλίων ἐπισκευασταὶ* see George of Cyprus' letters to Raoulaina, ed. Kougeas, *Münchener Thukydides*, p. 597, 3-4 (Lameere No 211) and to Neokaisareites, ed. Eustratiades, *Kyprios*, No 11 (Lameere No 11), *EPh* 1 (1908), 418; *ibid.*, No 100 (Lameere No 103), *EPh* 3 (1909), 33. On the process of copying a manuscript employed in the monastery of Stoudios in Constantinople see N. X. Eleopoulos, *Ἡ βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ βιβλιογραφικὸν ἐργαστήριον τῆς μονῆς τῶν Στουδίου*, Athens, 1967, pp. 28-36.

97. For Planoudean emendations on the text of Aratos and for his intervention and interpolation in the text of Nonnos' *Dionysiaka* see above pp. 72, 79 and notes 33, 82; Wilson, *Church and classical studies*, pp. 72-73, 77.

98. For a list of the oldest surviving manuscripts or the best witnesses of their respective authors dated from this period see Hunger, *Wissenschaft*, pp. 124-25.

99. See above p. 9 and p. 13 ff. and notes 22, 23, 49-51.

which took place in the palace is reported by Maximos Holobolos. The Emperor Michael VIII asked for the views of a group of scholars for the explanation of a certain passage from the gospel of St. Luke and after he had listened to their points he put forward his own view in a written document he had himself prepared in advance.<sup>100</sup> Holobolos who was ordered to read the text so much admired the Emperor's style and his familiarity with the Attic language and the Holy Scriptures that he prepared an edition of it which he most probably delivered before the same intellectual circle.<sup>101</sup> The discussion of Andronikos II with Manuel Bryennios mentioned above resulted in the official approval of astronomy and the flourishing of this subject thereafter.<sup>102</sup> It is not the only known. Maximos Kausokalybes, Gregory Palamas and Nikephoros Gregoras are reported to have had discussions with Andronikos II before other scholars in the palace.<sup>103</sup>

These intellectual gatherings in the imperial palace facilitated the creation of scholarly groups. Scholars with common interests exchanged letters, books, points of view or listened to rhetorical or other works prepared by one of their members. It is through these intellectual circles that learning went beyond the traditional limits of the schools, and new ideas and interests in certain subjects became known and appreciated. However, envy and rivalry between scholars or groups were not unusual. Personal ambitions to secure imperial favour or a higher post were sometimes bitterly fought on the intellectual battle ground. Nikephoros Blemmydes for example speaks of a *φιλοσοφολέσχη* and a *λογολεσχία* which seem to have been connected with the accusation brought by his two students against him before the Emperor and the synod.<sup>104</sup> Though nothing is known about this philosophical or intellectual club it probably refers to a group of scholars in Nicaea who disliked Blemmydes and encouraged his disgrace. Later on George of Cyprus was blamed by Pachymeres for not writing for pleasure while some mistakes he had made in one of his letters were maliciously exaggerated.<sup>105</sup> It is possible that this rival group opposing George of Cyprus may have been connected with the Patriarchal School. Maximos Planoudes, too, speaks of those who were ready to accuse him of conversion to the Catholic dogma in connection with a religious mission to Cilicia he was requested to undertake ca. 1295/96.<sup>106</sup> Since Planoudes' ambition at that time seems to have been only

100. Holobolos, *Orationes*, pp. 21, 31-24, 22. This meeting may have taken place ca. 1265-1273 when Holobolos enjoyed the favour of Michael VIII.

101. *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 26-34; 24, 23-25; 28, 18-20, 26; 29, 3-8.

102. See above p. 96 and n. 42.

103. See Kausokalybes' life ed. F. Halkin, *AB* 54 (1936), 71, 5-17; Gregoras, I, p. 327, 10 ff. For Palamas see J. Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas*, Paris, 1959, pp. 46-47 and n. 15.

104. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 100, 10; Laskaris, *Letters*, Appendix III, No 33, p. 325, 14.

105. See above p. 47 and n. 83.

106. See above p. 68 and n. 11.

learning, one is inclined to suspect the existence of a rival group in Constantinople opposing Planoudes. The well-known enmity between Metochites and Choumnos which was the result of personal rather than intellectual ambitions created two rival scholarly groups in the capital and ended only with their deaths.<sup>107</sup>

However co-operation and amity seem to have been the usual tendency within small intellectual groups, a number of which can be assumed from the contemporary sources, especially the correspondence of this period. George Babouskomites for example together with some imperial officials formed an intellectual group around 1250 which involved the exchange of books. The Emperor Theodore II gathered around him an intellectual circle of both laymen and clerics with whom he exchanged points of view on a variety of subjects.<sup>108</sup> During the reign of Michael VIII leading figures such as George Akropolites, Constantine Meliteniotes, Maximos Holobolos, the Patriarch Germanos III, Theodore Skoutariotes and George of Cyprus seem to have belonged to an intellectual group.<sup>109</sup> Another literary group mostly formed by officials of the Great Church seems to have existed at the same period.<sup>110</sup> Theodora Raoulaina was connected with the most distinguished scholars of her day with whom she shared intellectual interests or exchanged books.<sup>111</sup> Maximos Planoudes was in close touch with Theodore Mouzalon, Nikephoros Choumnos, John Glykys, Manuel Bryennios, Theodore Xanthopoulos, Leo Bardales and others.<sup>112</sup> A group of his students continued their friendship after their studies and kept in close touch though they had followed different careers and were sometimes far away from each other.<sup>113</sup> Surviving letter collections of this period confirm the continuity of those scholarly *σύλλογοι* or *θέατρα* which seem to have been a permanent feature of the Byzantine intellectual scene.<sup>114</sup> It was perhaps these élite circles who kept Byzantine learning alive even during periods of hardship and internal or external difficulties. One thinks of the Macedonian and the Palaiologan revivals of learning which followed the iconoclastic controversy and the disaster of the

107. Ševčenko, *Polémique*, (*passim*); *idem*, Metochites, p. 27; Verpeaux, *Choumnos*, pp. 57-60 and 152-157; Nicol, *Learning*, p. 33.

108. See above p. 15 ff. and p. 21 ff.

109. For the exchange of books within this group see above p. 138 ff.; cf. Pachymeres, I, p. 374, 9-13.

110. See above p. 139 and n. 35.

111. Such as George of Cyprus, Nikephoros Choumnos, Maximos Planoudes, Constantine Akropolites. See above p. 140.

112. See Planoudes, *Letters*, Nos 5, 6, 23, 28, 32, 33, 67 sent to these scholars.

113. On the friendship of Lakapenos, John and Andronikos Zarides, John Zacharias and Merkourios see above p. 83 ff. and p. 102 ff.

114. Lindstam, *Lakapenos and Zarides*, No 2, p. 8, 9 (*ἐταιρία*); No 3, p. 16, 4 (*ὄμιλος*); No 4, p. 26, 4-6 (*σύνοδοι*); No 6, p. 41, 12 (*διατριβαί*); No 16, p. 112, 7 (*σύλλογοι*); Hyrtakenos, *Letters*, No 5, p. 727 (*σύλλογοι*); Constantine Akropolites letter No 137, cod. Ambros. Gr. H 81 sup., f. 322<sup>r</sup>.

Fourth Crusade respectively. It was no doubt outstanding figures like Leo the Philosopher, Photios and Arethas, Blemmydes, Akropolites and Planoudes who directed these revivals.<sup>115</sup> Nevertheless these scholars could hardly have been successful in their intellectual pursuits if they were not appreciated and followed by other contemporary men of learning.

We now turn to examine the sources used and the text-books composed for the teaching of two of the fundamental subjects of higher education, rhetoric and higher mathematics. Though poetry and rhetoric can hardly be distinguished, the latter presupposes a deep study of the former. That these two disciplines were interchangeable is shown by the fact that there is hardly a rhetorical composition without some quotations from Homer or Hesiod, Pindar or the tragedians. Though poetry was usually included in the *enkyklios paideia*—a term so loosely employed throughout the whole Byzantine period—its serious study did sometimes continue in higher education probably as a preliminary step or a necessary revision before the teaching of rhetoric. Furthermore poetry and rhetoric were usually the two main subjects whose study was essential for candidates for the lesser offices of the State, and public schools for the teaching of poetry and rhetoric operated both in Nicaea and Constantinople.<sup>116</sup>

The great philologists of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century with their various editions of classical poetry created new interest in and expanded the scope of poetry. Scholars thereafter paid more attention to metre especially hexameter and even to the ancient Greek dialects. It is the editions and scholia of these teachers that give us a picture of what was taught in the subject at schools. Homer, especially the first two books of the *Iliad*, Hesiod, Pindar, the Byzantine triads of Sophocles (*Ajax*, *Electra*, *O. Tyrannus*) and Euripides (*Hecuba*, *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*) and some poems of Theocritus represented the main texts for the teaching of poetry.<sup>117</sup>

After a deep study of poetry the student entered a more difficult sector of learning, namely rhetoric. While he was studying poetry the student was asked to produce his own verses in the classical metres; in rhetoric he was expected to reach a high standard of eloquence and to write in an acceptable style based not on the spoken but on the Attic language.<sup>118</sup> This accomplishment presupposes a long training given through special text-books prepared during the second

115. On the flourishing of learning during the ninth and tenth century see Hussey, *Church and Learning*, pp. 22-36; Lemerle, *Humanisme*, p. 109 ff.; P. Speck, *Die kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel* (Byzantisches Archiv, 14), Munich, 1974, esp. pp. 1-28.

116. For such schools run by Hexapterygos, Senachereim, Hyaleas, Chalkomatopoulos and Hyrtakenos see above p. 9 ff. p. 19, p. 92 ff.

117. See above p. 79 ff. and p. 107.

118. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 66, p. 81, 44-45; Clark, *Rhetoric*, pp. 144-76 where he examines the *mimēsis* practised in the Graeco-Roman education; Hunger, *Mimesis*, p. 30 ff.; R. Jenkins, 'The Hellenistic origins of Byzantine literature', *DOP* 17 (1963), 39-52.

sophistic period which were never superseded during the whole Byzantine period. The *progymnasmata* of Aphthonios and Hermogenes especially in the form presented by the former were the starting point for the teaching of rhetoric. These fourteen chapters, the fable (μῦθος), the tale (διήγημα), the chreia (χρεία), the proverb (γνώμη), the refutation (ἀνασκευή), the confirmation (κατασκευή), the commonplace (κοινὸς τόπος), the encomium (ἐγκώμιον), the vituperation (ψόγος), the comparison (σύγκρισις), the characterization (ἡθοποιία), the description (ἐκφρασις), the thesis (θέσις), the proposal of a law (εἰσφορᾶς νόμος), were constantly commented upon by Byzantine teachers but never changed. The great success of these *progymnasmata*, which continued to be taught both in the East and through early translations in the Latin West until the seventeenth century, is due to the fact that they gave patterns to the students to follow.<sup>119</sup> The students studied hard and prepared their own γυμνασίαι or compositions on every chapter, proceeding from the simple to the more difficult.<sup>120</sup> There then usually followed a study of Hermogenes' work 'the art of rhetoric' which was based on the great works of classical oratory.<sup>121</sup> According to the standing of the teacher this study may or may not have extended to a wider range of rhetorical works such as those of Libanios, Synesios, Aelius Aristides. Classical orators such as Demosthenes and Isocrates also played their part in the study of rhetoric. Even Plato and Thucydides were studied as models of Attic eloquence. Christian literature, too, was utilised for rhetorical studies. The works of the Cappadocian fathers, especially the sermons of Gregory of Nazianzos, became the object of many scholia which is an indication that St. Gregory was also included in the school curriculum.<sup>122</sup>

From the period under review a number of *progymnasmata* survive written by teachers as models for their students. Theodore Hexapterygos, a famous teacher of rhetoric in Nicaea, composed his tales (διηγήματα) which are still unpublished (cod. Vind. Phil. Gr. 254, ff. 120<sup>r</sup>-125<sup>r</sup>). George of Cyprus prepared his own works on some chapters of these *progymnasmata* (fables, tales, *chreia*, encomium, characterization). George Pachymeres wrote his own examples on the *progymnasmata* of Aphthonios. Constantine Akropolites who may or may not have acted as a teacher wrote his *progymnasmata* on seven chapters of Aphthonios' work. Maximos Planoudes wrote an encomium and a corpus on rhetoric based on Aphthonios' and Hermogenes' works and their earlier commentators.<sup>123</sup>

119. Clark, *Rhetoric*, pp. 179-212; Hunger, *Mimesis*, pp. 19-21; Kustas, *Rhetoric*, p. 22 and n. 1.

120. Lameere, *Tradition*, p. 185, 24-26; cod. Ambros. Gr. H 81 sup., No 71, f. 294<sup>r</sup>: ποιητῶν ἀγωνίσματα; see Appendix, No 71, p. 165, 5.

121. Kustas, *Rhetoric*, pp. 14-22.

122. Wilson, *Church and classical studies*, p. 70; on the study of Plato see *ibid.*, p. 71; PG 133, col. 1297.

123. For the discussion of these works see above p. 10 ff., p. 45, p. 61, p. 80 ff. and pp. 100-101.

Though rhetoric continued to be traditionally taught the authors employed and the standards achieved seem to have varied. In the Nicaean period for example Nikephoros Blemmydes studied rhetoric by means of the *progymnasmata* and the 'art of rhetoric' of Hermogenes.<sup>124</sup> Hexapterygos and his student George Akropolites taught rhetoric probably using Aphthonios' and Hermogenes' works.<sup>125</sup> It was Akropolites' student, George of Cyprus, who went beyond this pattern. For we know that apart from these text-books he taught rhetoric through Demosthenes and even the works of Plato.<sup>126</sup> This seems to have been a new approach, for his students studied rhetoric from the actual original text which was far more useful than studying through scholiasts and commentaries. His *meletai*, which were written as *antilogiai* to the declamations of Libanios, indicate that Libanios also played his part in George of Cyprus' teaching. Had these *meletai* been deprived of their titles their dating would have been a puzzle for the philologists who might have attributed them to a much earlier period.<sup>127</sup> Another rhetor to whom George of Cyprus gave much attention is Aelius Aristides, a sophist and public orator of the second century A.D. The great number of manuscripts of this rhetor surviving from this period onwards shows clearly the influence of George of Cyprus' edition of Aristides, which became a basic text-book for rhetoric thereafter.<sup>128</sup> This task seems to have been undertaken by others and George Pachymeres prepared his thirteen *meletai* probably following this development. The results came soon and can be seen not only in the works of George of Cyprus but also in those of his students, especially Nikephoros Choumnos.<sup>129</sup>

This revival in the study of rhetoric does not seem to have lasted long. Maximos Planoudes, a scholar probably connected with George of Cyprus, writing to Nikephoros Choumnos in 1299 complained that the subject was on the decline. If Planoudes is to be believed there is at least some explanation for this decline, namely the greater attention to mathematical sciences shown by Byzantine scholars

124. See above p. 7.

125. Lameere, *Tradition*, p. 185, 21-22; see also above p. 11 and p. 32.

126. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. III, Paris, 1831, p. 370; cf. Wilson, *Church and classical studies*, p. 71; see also above p. 46.

127. See P. Maas, 'Gregorios Kyprios und Libanios', *BNJ* 1 (1920), 48-49; see also above p. 42 and n. 55. For the study of the declamation which usually followed the *progymnasmata* during the Graeco-Roman period see Clark, *Rhetoric*, pp. 213-61. For some speeches earlier attributed to Aelius Aristides but actually written by Thomas Magistros see Hunger, *Mimesis*, p. 20 and notes 14, 15; ed. by F. W. Lenz, *Fünf Reden Thomas Magisters*, Leiden, 1963; cf. Ševčenko, *Metochites*, p. 22 and n. 23.

128. Cf. *P. Aelii Aristides Opera quae extant omnia*, vol. I, ed. F. W. Lenz, preface by C. A. Behr, Lugduni Batavorum, 1976, pp. IX-LXVI where he gives a list of 234 manuscripts and few papyri containing Aristides mostly dated from this period onwards.

129. See above p. 61 and n. 59. On Choumnos' rhetorical works and his views about eloquence see Verpeaux, *Choumnos*, pp. 83-122.

after the death of the Patriarch Gregory of Cyprus († 1289).<sup>130</sup>

The teaching of rhetoric was not only limited to lay students but also required for men destined to serve the Church. Of the above named teachers, Blemmydes was a monk who ran a monastic school near Ephesos, Pachymeres was a deacon and professor of the Patriarchal School, while Planoudes, himself a monk, had among his students both laymen and monks. On the other hand, among Byzantine scholars one can hardly make a distinction between those who wrote explicitly on secular or religious subjects in the thirteenth century. Rhetoric was useful for both directions of higher education and it was from the graduates of rhetoric that the ruling class was formed.<sup>131</sup>

How did rhetoric come to occupy such a prominent position? Byzantine Church and State always needed well trained men to fill the various sections of both institutions. The Emperors on the one hand patronized learning and chose their officials from among the best scholars of the higher secular institutions. Byzantine diplomacy and relations with foreign rulers as well as internal affairs both in the capital and the provinces were performed by well trained civil servants.<sup>132</sup> On the other hand for the numerous bishoprics, the administration of the Church, and the relations and discussions with the Catholic Church men of considerable knowledge both of secular and ecclesiastical learning were needed and rhetoric formed the stepping-stone to the acquisition of such experience. To support or to oppose satisfactorily the Union of the Churches, a question which dominated Byzantium during the reign of Michael VIII, demanded not only a good knowledge of theology but above all a fluent tongue and a convincing pen.<sup>133</sup> Furthermore no ceremonial occasion either civil or ecclesiastical remained ungraced by a speech. Lives of saints were elaborately collected, composed and delivered for celebrations in the appropriate church either in Constantinople or elsewhere.<sup>134</sup> The rhetor of the Church would deliver a eulogizing speech at certain imperial ceremonies.<sup>135</sup> Imperial or patriarchal decrees were written in

130. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 6, p. 13, 15-19, esp. 18-19; see above p. 43 and n. 62.

131. Cf. Clark, *Rhetoric*, p. 209.

132. Gregoras, I, pp. 193, 22-194, 9.

133. *Ibid.*, I, p. 170, 2-10, p. 168, 15-24; Pachymeres, II, p. 95, 1-3; cf. Wilson, *Church and classical studies*, p. 70.

134. C. Akropolites' letter No 14, ed. Treu, *BZ* 1 (1892), 362; No 29, cod. Ambros. Gr. H 81 sup., f. 278<sup>r</sup>; No 32, ed. Delehaye, *AB* 51 (1933), 272; No 40, cod. Ambros. *op. cit.*, f. 283<sup>r</sup>; No 88, ed. Kerameus, *Analekta*, I, pp. 161-62; No 143, ed. Delehaye, *AB* 51 (1933), 275-76; No 170, ed. Delehaye, *ibid.*, p. 277; No 171, *ibid.*, p. 277; No 175, *ibid.*, pp. 277-78; No 176, *ibid.*, p. 278; cf. M. M. Wicks, *Aelius Aristides and the society of his time*, unpublished M.A. thesis, University of London, 1960, p. 76 ff.

135. Holobolos, *Orationes*, pp. 51, 28-52, 2 (delivered at Christmas day); p. 52, 17-18; p. 77, 15-16, 32; p. 78, 5-11; p. 79, 11-12; cf. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petropolitanae*, St. Petersburg, 1913, pp. 103, 1-104, 27 (delivered on Epiphany); Browning, *School*, p. 38, No 2 (delivered on Epiphany).



the best possible style. Well composed letters or orations written by individual scholars were circulated and read aloud among the intellectual élite.<sup>136</sup> A high standard of eloquence not only facilitated a career in the State or the Church; it also brought honour and respect. Finally the tendency towards a humanistic attitude during this period was promoted by familiarity with and imitation of the classical authors as a result of the deeper study of rhetoric, especially after the recovery of Constantinople in 1261.<sup>137</sup>

It seems that a small number of students continued their studies beyond rhetoric or at least beyond Aristotle's logic. But those few who went through the *Quadrivium* and continued their philosophical studies usually became the outstanding figures of their age. Whether higher mathematics preceded or followed the study of philosophy cannot be decided from the existing evidence during this period. Blemmydes and Metochites referring to their own studies mention first the study of logic and then the study of the *Quadrivium*. On the other hand George Akropolites seems to have taught his students arithmetic and geometry prior to Aristotelian philosophy.<sup>138</sup> Obviously a profound study of higher mathematics required a long period, gifted teachers and students able to go through the difficult text-books written on each subject of the *Quadrivium*. But teachers widely versed in higher mathematics were hardly available.<sup>139</sup> This does not apply, however, in the teaching of philosophy where so many works were written and the line of commentators on Aristotle goes back to the ninth century if not to late antiquity.<sup>140</sup> It seems therefore that higher mathematics followed the teaching of Aristotle's logic but could open the way for a more serious study on the other Aristotelian works, i.e. ethics, physics, metaphysics etc., which ideally concluded higher education though it was only achieved by a handful of great scholars in every period.

136. Hyrtakenos, *Letters*, No 5, p. 727 (a work of Nikephoros Choumnos); *ibid.*, No 6, p. 727 ff.; *ibid.*, No 7, pp. 728-29 (Choumnos' treatise *Περὶ ψυχῆς*); *ibid.*, No 86, p. 42; *ibid.*, No 91, p. 46; *ibid.*, No 18, p. 738; No 37, p. 8 (an encomium in hexameter sent to Trebizond for criticism); No 25, p. 741; No 51, p. 16 (Hyrtakenos' *logos* on the Virgin Mary was sent to Pepagomenos, ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, III, Paris, 1831, pp. 1-58); No 52, pp. 16-17; see Constantine Akropolites' letter No 22, ed. Delehaye, *AB* 51 (1933), 272; No 75, cod. Ambros. Gr. H 81 sup., ff. 294<sup>v</sup>-295<sup>r</sup>; No 76, ed. Delehaye as No 66, *AB* 51 (1933), 274; No 84, cod. Ambros. *op. cit.*, f. 298<sup>r</sup>; No 101, *ibid.*, f. 309<sup>r</sup>; No 125, *ibid.*, f. 320<sup>r</sup>; No 127, *ibid.*, f. 320<sup>r</sup>; No 137, *ibid.*, ff. 322<sup>r-v</sup>; No 144, ed. Delehaye, *op. cit.*, p. 276; No 146, cod. Ambros. *op. cit.*, f. 324<sup>v</sup>; No 150, ed. Delehaye, *op. cit.*, p. 276; No 154, cod. Ambros. *op. cit.*, f. 326<sup>r</sup>; No 156, ed. Delehaye, *op. cit.*, as No 157, p. 276; No 167, *ibid.*, pp. 276-77; No 187, *ibid.*, p. 278; No 157, cod. Ambros. *op. cit.*, f. 326<sup>r</sup>; No 186, *ibid.*, ff. 331<sup>v</sup>-332<sup>r</sup>.

137. Cf. Hunger, *Mimesis*, pp. 19-38.

138. See above pp. 7, 91, 32.

139. Cf. Metochites' statement on the study of mathematics, Sathas, *MB*, I, p. πζ'; see also above p. 91 and n. 10.

140. Harlfinger, *Περὶ Ἀτόμων γραμμῶν*, pp. 43-44; for the earlier commentators see K. Oehler, 'Aristotle in Byzantium', *GRBS* 5 (1964), 133-146.

Higher mathematics, called *ἡ μαθηματικὴ τετρακτὺς* (i.e. arithmetic, music, geometry, astronomy), were taught throughout the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries as a part of philosophy though not always at the same standards or through the same text-books. Nikolaos Mesarites in his description of the church of the Holy Apostles *ca.* 1200 reports on the teaching of arithmetic, music and geometry in that branch of the Patriarchal School. There is no mention of astronomy which seems to have been replaced by medicine.<sup>141</sup> Some twenty years later a former student of the Patriarchal School, Prodromos of Skamandros, taught his pupil Blemmydes arithmetic, geometry and astronomy through the works of Nikomachos, Diophantos, Euclid and others.<sup>142</sup> It is most probable that Blemmydes taught mathematics to his students. George Akropolites for instance speaks of his knowledge of astronomy which he acquired by attending Blemmydes' classes. Akropolites himself seems to have been a good mathematician for he is praised for this by his student Theodore II Laskaris. In Constantinople, too, after 1261, George Akropolites, as professor of the higher secular school, taught his students the arithmetic of Nikomachos and the geometry of Euclid as part of a course on philosophy.<sup>143</sup> The fact that no commentaries on mathematics are known so far from the Nicaean period is perhaps an indication that the subject was superficially taught during that period. Akropolites' lectures on arithmetic and geometry therefore might represent what George of Cyprus reported as 'subjects unknown to the many even in their titles'.<sup>144</sup> Two of Akropolites' students, George of Cyprus and John Pediasimos lectured also on mathematics. Pediasimos in particular showed a special interest in mathematics. His teaching is illustrated by his surviving works. He wrote a treatise on music and a geometry based on Hero, while in astronomy he commented upon Cleomedes and wrote a short work on the seven planets.<sup>145</sup>

During the 1280's Theodore Metochites studied mathematics in Asia Minor. He went through Nikomachos' arithmetic, Euclid's harmonics and geometry, as well as the works of Apollonios of Perge, Serenos and Theodosios on the same subject. However, it was many years later that he acquired a more profound knowledge of mathematics and especially astronomy, thanks to his private studies under Manuel Bryennios.<sup>146</sup>

The final years of the thirteenth and the early fourteenth century witnessed

141. See above p. 54 and n. 25; cf. *CMH*, IV, ii, p. 272 ff. and n. 3.

142. Blemmydes, *Curriculum*, p. 5, 1-26; see also above pp. 8 and 137.

143. Lameere, *Tradition*, p. 185, 15-17; see also above pp. 13 and 32.

144. PG 142, col. 381D; cf. Holobolos, *Orationes*, p. 95, 13-24. Though Blemmydes touched upon astronomy in his *Epitomē physica* (chapters 25-30) his treatment of the subject had been described as unoriginal and inadequate by Pingree (Chioniades, p. 133).

145. A. Demetrakopoulos, *Ορθόδοξος Ἑλλάς*, Leipzig, 1872, p. 64; see also above p. 47 and pp. 122-23.

146. See above p. 91 ff.

a revived interest in mathematical studies which was to continue throughout the rest of the fourteenth century. The leading figures in this revival were Maximos Planoudes, Manuel Bryennios and George Pachymeres. Planoudes taught every subject of the *Quadrivium* and wrote his own works and scholia on them. Apart from his edition and scholia on Diophantos he wrote his Indian Calculus, collected nearly all the works written on harmonics, wrote scholia on Euclid and edited Aratos and Cleomedes.<sup>147</sup> However, Planoudes was familiar with a wider range of ancient mathematics. In one of his letters for instance he speaks of the works of Nikomachos and Diophantos, of Euclid and of Zosimos' (i.e. Cleonides) harmonics and of Theodosios' *sphairika*, works which he had consulted in the imperial library housed in the monastery where he lived. Planoudes was also familiar with Ptolemy as can be seen not only by his edition of the Geography but also by the fact that following Ptolemy he amended the text of Aratos.<sup>148</sup>

Manuel Bryennios seems to have been among the few scholars of his age who specialized only in one section of learning, namely mathematics. For no correspondence, no rhetorical or philosophical works of his seem to have survived. Though he is mainly known as an astronomer and as private tutor in astronomy to Theodore Metochites we can only deduce Bryennios' writings on this subject from two glosses in cod. Laur. 28, 12.<sup>149</sup> His interest in the other subjects of the *Quadrivium*, however, is shown by the fact that he owned a volume of Diophantos, by his scholia on Ptolemy's *Almagest* and above all by his important work on harmonics. To compose this work Bryennios employed nearly all the surviving works on harmonics such as Aristides Quintilianus, Aristoxenos, Cleonides, Nikomachos, Porphyry, Ptolemy and Theon of Smyrna.<sup>150</sup>

The other major mathematician of this period is the polyhistor George Pachymeres. His main work, the *Quadrivium*, written ca. 1300 is probably the best surviving Byzantine compilation on the four disciplines. Pachymeres' *Quadrivium* can be regarded as an encyclopaedia based on ancient works some of them partly lost. On arithmetic his main sources were Nikomachos and Diophantos; on music, Ptolemy and Porphyry; on geometry, Euclid; and on astronomy, Aratos, Archimedes, Aristotle, Cleomedes, Euclid, Ptolemy and Theon. The fact that Pachymeres employed so many ancient works to compose his *Quadrivium* clearly indicates that all these authors were available in Constantinople.<sup>151</sup>

Minor mathematical works were written at this period by Manuel Mo-

147. See above p. 80.

148. Planoudes, *Letters*, No 67, p. 84, 103-111. On Zosimos, who is identified with Cleonides, see C. Janus, *Musici Scriptores Graeci*, Leipzig, 1895 (*Teubner Series*), p. XVII and pp. XLIII-XLIV. Cf. Wilson, *Church and classical studies*, p. 77; see also above p. 71.

149. Ševčenko, *Polémique*, p. 116, n. 6; see above p. 96, n. 43.

150. Cf. Jonker, Bryennios, *Index locorum parallelorum*, pp. 404-409; Pingree, Chioniades p. 137; see also above pp. 96-97.

151. See above p. 62 and notes 63, 64.

schopoulos and by an otherwise unknown monk Neophytos, who like Planoudes used the Arabic numerals.<sup>152</sup> Pingree also maintains that Gregory Chioniades, after he had studied astronomy in Tabriz during the 1290's, returned to Constantinople where he spent some time translating Persian works into Greek *ca.* 1298-1302. Nevertheless, since the major mathematical works of this period are based on ancient Greek mathematics it appears that some time may have elapsed before Chioniades' translations influenced Palaiologan astronomy.<sup>153</sup>

Mention might also be made of the study of physics which was also taught as a part of philosophy. Nikephoros Blemmydes reports among his mathematical studies under Prodromos of Skamandros the study of optics and catoptrics. He later taught Aristotle's physics and wrote a manual on the subject while a student of his, Theodōre II, shows familiarity with physics in his work *De Communione Naturali*.<sup>154</sup> Later on Nikephoros Choumnos wrote some treatises on physics which to a large extent are still unpublished.<sup>155</sup>

From this brief survey of the study and teaching of mathematics during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries it becomes clear that the study of the *Quadrivium* flourished towards the end of this period. Some of the leading scholars also knew most of the ancient works on mathematics which they edited or commented upon or even employed in the composition of their own works. Nevertheless, these Byzantine scholars made little or no progress in higher mathematics and their main contribution lies in the preservation of ancient Greek mathematics.<sup>156</sup>

152. P. Tannery, *Mémoires scientifiques* 4 Toulouse-Paris, 1920, pp. 99-102 and 199-205; Pingree, Chioniades, p. 137 and n. 15; *CMH*, IV, ii, p. 275; see also above p. 108.

153. Pingree, Chioniades, p. 143; see also *ibid.*, p. 141, n. 45, where he suggests that on 24 June 1302 Chioniades was in Trebizond on his way to Tabriz; see also above p. 109.

154. Ed. PG 142, cols. 1005-1302 (Blemmydes, *Epitomē Physica*); on its value (unoriginal) see Pingree, Chioniades, p. 135; Theodore II's work ed. PG 140, cols. 1259-1395; cf. Sarton, *History of Science*, II, ii, pp. 970-71; *CMH*, IV, ii, p. 283; see also above pp. 24, 137.

155. Verpeaux, *Choumnos*, pp. 17-18 and 123-146.

156. Cf. *CMH*, IV, ii, p. 280.

## CONCLUSION

Higher education in Byzantium was closely linked with the administrative system and professional requirements of the State and the Church; it enjoyed the patronage of the Emperor and the Patriarch and inevitably followed the fate of its patrons. Consequently in periods of imperial and ecclesiastical stability or prosperity higher education flourished while in periods of trouble it declined.

In so far as Byzantine education is concerned the period that followed 1204 reflects the resilience with which the Byzantines reacted to the capture of Constantinople and the destruction of their institutions. The reorganization in education which followed was swift and efficient since the continuity of administration depended on a highly educated civil service which had been taught and trained by competent scholars. The credit for this must go to John III Batatzes and his son Theodore II who provided a natural focus for the intellectuals in exile and encouraged and inspired them in their scholarly pursuits. It was due to such patronage that Nikephoros Blemmydes, the greatest scholar of the Nicaean Empire, indefatigably collected manuscripts, wrote text-books and in general kept alive higher learning. Later under the Palaiologoi it is Maximos Planoudes who would secure Hellenic works for posterity and revive interest in the ancient theory of music and poetry.

Under the impact of the disaster of 1204 and thanks to the imperial encouragement higher education which since the twelfth century had been the preserve of the Patriarch came once again under the protection of the Emperor.

The capture of Constantinople was also significant in another way. Displaced from their capital the Byzantine intellectuals were forced to re-examine themselves and the world that surrounded them. They became conscious of the Latin and Muslim worlds and they realised that they were no longer the sole bearers of culture. A number of Byzantine scholars tried to understand these cultures by studying Latin and Arabic and went on to translate into Greek works from both languages. This awareness of the existence of other cultures coincided with a humanist trend which was given a new impetus with the recovery of Constantinople in 1261 followed by the re-establishment of the higher Imperial School and the foundation of libraries with the main purpose of preserving the Greco-Byzantine heritage.

As in the past there was a symbiosis between humanist and religious elements and their two directions, religious and secular, are reflected in Byzantine education. Surprisingly, though the Church produced its own rhetors, philo-

sophers and historians it continued to teach its clergy through the medium of Demosthenes, Thucydides and Aristotle. No attempt was ever made to replace these authors with Christian ones. Indeed this double aspect of Byzantine life is emphasized by the fact that in addition to the foundation of the higher Imperial School in 1261 there came the re-establishment of the Patriarchal School shortly after.

The students of the Patriarchal School during the twelfth and the late thirteenth centuries studied the exegesis of the Holy Scriptures and no doubt the secular curriculum, but the emphasis in their courses was predominantly religious. They studied the techniques of poetry, rhetoric and logic but they paid even great attention to the Old and New Testaments, the writings of the Fathers and the teaching of the Orthodox Church. One only needs to mention the numerous theological *didaskaliai* of the professors of the Patriarchal School in the twelfth century. In the late thirteenth century, too, though the Patriarchal School seems to have been influenced by the humanistic development of that time it never lost its religious character. The encomia of Maximos Holobolos for Michael VIII, for example, are full of quotations from religious sources. On the other hand the contemporary encomia of George of Cyprus both for Michael VIII and Andronikos II contain quotations mainly from secular sources. The former was a professor of the Patriarchal School and thus more concerned with religious literature while the latter was concerned with higher education in the service of the Emperor and was more influenced by the *θύραθεν παιδεία* or secular learning.

This does not mean that men of secular interests ignored religious learning in their writings. For, even if they wanted to do so they were conscious that they must not express views in public if they happened to be in any way antagonistic to the doctrines of the Orthodox Church.

Indeed most of the greater teachers of this period were sooner or later in life connected with the Church either as monks or as high ecclesiastical officials and Patriarchs. This is for example the case with Blemmydes, Holobolos, George of Cyprus, John Pediasimos, George Pachymeres, Maximos Planoudes and John Glykys. Most of these teachers taught at schools attached to churches or monasteries where they may also have lived and where libraries were established. Some of their students especially those who came from a distant area resided in the monastery. This kind of school and tutorial supervision seems to have been very effective and created close relations not only between teacher and student but also among the students themselves as we can deduce from their correspondence. During their daily or nightly meetings they discussed subjects related to their studies, copied or edited texts, composed and delivered orations, read out well-composed letters and participated in ecclesiastical ceremonies. Sometimes students served as assistants to their tutors (*κορυφαῖοι τοῦ χοροῦ*) and they were often entrusted with the teaching of the new students.

Being a monk did not therefore exclude the possibility of becoming a scholar

collecting books and studying secular authors, ancient Greek philosophers and mathematicians, or even joining the intellectual circles, delivering orations at ceremonial occasions and serving the Empire in political missions.

The many-sided interests of Byzantine scholars are reflected in the activities of the teachers of this period. In fact the ideal of Byzantine learning was polymathy. Blemmydes for example studied and probably taught grammar, poetry, rhetoric, philosophy, mathematics, geography, medicine and the Holy Scriptures. The same is true of most of the other outstanding teachers of higher education.

It was these polymaths who led the search for the recovery of the ancient texts scattered as a result of the events of 1204; and the rediscovery and re-edition of such texts gave to these scholars the opportunity to re-examine this traditional material with a fresh interest and different ideas and under different circumstances. Teachers were no more satisfied with the older commentaries and scholia. Ancient Greek poetry, philosophy and mathematics were once again thoroughly studied, commented upon, paraphrased or used for the composition of text-books. New simpler dictionaries, new collections and anthologies were compiled. The whole corpus of Byzantine learning was in fact re-examined and re-evaluated. Though the works of these scholars were mainly derivative and made little or no original contribution to the various subjects of higher learning, nevertheless it was their activities that secured the survival of most of the classical texts until their western colleagues were well prepared to take over and preserve this invaluable heritage.

The imperial patronage to which this intellectual revival owed so much began to decline at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Higher education no longer commanded prestige and the impoverished State was unable to provide material rewards, to absorb or support all the educated young men. Some of them were forced to find employment at the court of Trebizond; others accepted posts in the imperial service where higher studies were not necessary and became commanders of frontier cities. A number of intellectuals entered the Church or became monks either in the capital or in the great cities, especially Thessalonike. Those who failed to secure employment gathered around the high officials, begged for government grants, wrote occasional poetry, such as epitaphs for the tombs of dignitaries or of donors of books and icons to churches or eulogies for high officials, or finally became private teachers to the sons of the wealthy. It was the dwindling need for higher education in Constantinople that led to the creation of new centres of learning in Thessalonike, in the Empire of Trebizond and some time later in Mystras.

However, higher education continued to function even after this development. But as had happened two centuries earlier after the condemnation of John Italos in 1082, the Church gradually replaced the State in this task and higher education once more came under the protection and influence of the patriarchate.

The change of patronage inevitably altered the direction of higher education

sophers and historians it continued to teach its clergy through the medium of Demosthenes, Thucydides and Aristotle. No attempt was ever made to replace these authors with Christian ones. Indeed this double aspect of Byzantine life is emphasized by the fact that in addition to the foundation of the higher Imperial School in 1261 there came the re-establishment of the Patriarchal School shortly after.

The students of the Patriarchal School during the twelfth and the late thirteenth centuries studied the exegesis of the Holy Scriptures and no doubt the secular curriculum, but the emphasis in their courses was predominantly religious. They studied the techniques of poetry, rhetoric and logic but they paid even great attention to the Old and New Testaments, the writings of the Fathers and the teaching of the Orthodox Church. One only needs to mention the numerous theological *didaskaliai* of the professors of the Patriarchal School in the twelfth century. In the late thirteenth century, too, though the Patriarchal School seems to have been influenced by the humanistic development of that time it never lost its religious character. The encomia of Maximos Holobolos for Michael VIII, for example, are full of quotations from religious sources. On the other hand the contemporary encomia of George of Cyprus both for Michael VIII and Andronikos II contain quotations mainly from secular sources. The former was a professor of the Patriarchal School and thus more concerned with religious literature while the latter was concerned with higher education in the service of the Emperor and was more influenced by the *θύραθεν παιδεία* or secular learning.

This does not mean that men of secular interests ignored religious learning in their writings. For, even if they wanted to do so they were conscious that they must not express views in public if they happened to be in any way antagonistic to the doctrines of the Orthodox Church.

Indeed most of the greater teachers of this period were sooner or later in life connected with the Church either as monks or as high ecclesiastical officials and Patriarchs. This is for example the case with Blemmydes, Holobolos, George of Cyprus, John Pediasimos, George Pachymeres, Maximos Planoudes and John Glykys. Most of these teachers taught at schools attached to churches or monasteries where they may also have lived and where libraries were established. Some of their students especially those who came from a distant area resided in the monastery. This kind of school and tutorial supervision seems to have been very effective and created close relations not only between teacher and student but also among the students themselves as we can deduce from their correspondence. During their daily or nightly meetings they discussed subjects related to their studies, copied or edited texts, composed and delivered orations, read out well-composed letters and participated in ecclesiastical ceremonies. Sometimes students served as assistants to their tutors (*χορυφαῖοι τοῦ χοροῦ*) and they were often entrusted with the teaching of the new students.

Being a monk did not therefore exclude the possibility of becoming a scholar



collecting books and studying secular authors, ancient Greek philosophers and mathematicians, or even joining the intellectual circles, delivering orations at ceremonial occasions and serving the Empire in political missions.

The many-sided interests of Byzantine scholars are reflected in the activities of the teachers of this period. In fact the ideal of Byzantine learning was polymathy. Blemmydes for example studied and probably taught grammar, poetry, rhetoric, philosophy, mathematics, geography, medicine and the Holy Scriptures. The same is true of most of the other outstanding teachers of higher education.

It was these polymaths who led the search for the recovery of the ancient texts scattered as a result of the events of 1204; and the rediscovery and re-edition of such texts gave to these scholars the opportunity to re-examine this traditional material with a fresh interest and different ideas and under different circumstances. Teachers were no more satisfied with the older commentaries and scholia. Ancient Greek poetry, philosophy and mathematics were once again thoroughly studied, commented upon, paraphrased or used for the composition of text-books. New simpler dictionaries, new collections and anthologies were compiled. The whole corpus of Byzantine learning was in fact re-examined and re-evaluated. Though the works of these scholars were mainly derivative and made little or no original contribution to the various subjects of higher learning, nevertheless it was their activities that secured the survival of most of the classical texts until their western colleagues were well prepared to take over and preserve this invaluable heritage.

The imperial patronage to which this intellectual revival owed so much began to decline at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Higher education no longer commanded prestige and the impoverished State was unable to provide material rewards, to absorb or support all the educated young men. Some of them were forced to find employment at the court of Trebizond; others accepted posts in the imperial service where higher studies were not necessary and became commanders of frontier cities. A number of intellectuals entered the Church or became monks either in the capital or in the great cities, especially Thessalonike. Those who failed to secure employment gathered around the high officials, begged for government grants, wrote occasional poetry, such as epitaphs for the tombs of dignitaries or of donors of books and icons to churches or eulogies for high officials, or finally became private teachers to the sons of the wealthy. It was the dwindling need for higher education in Constantinople that led to the creation of new centres of learning in Thessalonike, in the Empire of Trebizond and some time later in Mystras.

However, higher education continued to function even after this development. But as had happened two centuries earlier after the condemnation of John Italos in 1082, the Church gradually replaced the State in this task and higher education once more came under the protection and influence of the patriarchate.

The change of patronage inevitably altered the direction of higher education

and set limits to its horizons. Though there was a strong reaction against the Church, clearly seen in the hesychast controversy, the relatively easy victory of Orthodox piety over those who admired ancient Greek antiquity was a sign that the monastic spirit was to dominate Byzantium during the last century of its life. Under such circumstances no real 'Renaissance' was possible in this medieval State. One of the few options left open for the Byzantine humanists was accommodation with the Latin West where the future of secular education lay. It seems, however, that the triumph of the Orthodox Church came at a time when it was opportune. For after all little practical help could be given to the Christian people of the Balkans by a small number of Byzantine humanists. The only authority which could survive the inevitable Muslim domination was the Orthodox Church and it was under its aegis and protection that the rudiments of Byzantine learning were preserved during the long period of the *Tourkokratia*.

## APPENDIX

We are transcribing below six letters of Constantine Akropolites contained in codex Ambros. H 81 sup.

### No 59 (νθ')

- f.289<sup>v</sup>      *Οἴμαί σε, φίλτατε ἀδελφέ, μαθεῖν ἐθέλειν, ὅπως ἔσχον τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ πρὸ ὀλίγου μὲν συμβάντι σεισμῷ, πᾶσαν δὲ ψυχὴν ἐκθροήσαντι. καὶ αὐτὸς γὰρ οὐχ ἥκιστα περὶ σοῦ πνυθῆσθαι καὶ τῶν σῶν βούλομαι. γνοὺς οὖν αὐτὸς τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν, δήλωσον, εἰ βούλοιο, τὰ περὶ 5*  
*σαύτου.*
- f.290<sup>r</sup>      *πρώτην εἶχεν ὁ μὴν Μουνυχιών, Ἀθηναίοις οὗτος ὠνόμαστο, | παρὰ δὴ Ῥωμαίοις Ἰούνιος, καμὲ συνήθως τὰ ἀνάκτορα, μετὰ τὴν ἐξ ἔθους, ὡς οἶσθα, προσκύνησιν, πληροῦντα τὸ προσταττόμενον. χρείας δ' ἐνστάσης τὸ πλείστον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖσε τότε διέτριψα, δείλῃς δ' ὀψίας ἀπ- 10  
ῆλθον ἀριστήσαι. ὥς δ' ἀριστήσας ἐπανῆλθον καὶ τὰ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν καὶ πάλιν διατελέσας, ὑπέστρεψα οἴκαδε, βίβλον, ὡς εἶωθα, μετὰ χειρας λαβὼν —Πλάτωνος ἦν ἡ βίβλος, περὶ ἐπιστήμης ὁ λόγος— ὅλος ἐγενόμην τῆς ἀναγνώσεως. οὐκ ὀλίγον οὖν διελθὼν καὶ κόρον τούτου λαβὼν, πρὸς ἐτέραν ἐργασίαν ἐτράπην. χάρτην γὰρ καὶ μέλανα μεταχειρισά- 15  
μενος, γράφειν παρωρμήθην καὶ ἔγραφον. δίκην γὰρ ἐπῆμει μοι μελετῆσαι Δημοκρίτου καὶ Ἡρακλείτου φιλοσοφίαν εἰς δικαστὴν προκαθίσαντι.*
- ἦν μὲν οὖν ἐν τούτοις ἔχων αὐτὸς καὶ τὸν νοῦν πρὸς ἄλλο στρέφων μηδέν, ἡ δὲ φοβερὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπειλή τῷ ἀκατασχέτῳ κλόνῳ τῆς γῆς θέ- 20  
μεθλον ἅπαν διαδονεῖν ἤρξατο· ἀλλὰ μοι, ἀσχολουμένῳ πρὸς δ' καὶ δε-  
δήλωκα, οὐκ εἰσῆμει παραυτὰ συναίσθησις τοῦ δεινοῦ. τῶν τινες δ' ἡμετέ-  
ρων ἐπὶ θύραις περιδεεῖς φθάσαντες, ἐμέ τε ἐκάλουν καὶ τὸ σύνθηες ἐν 25  
κινδύνοις, ἐν βίαις προσφώνημα τὸ 'κύριε' μετ' ὀδυρμῶν ἀνεβόων 'ἐλέησον'. οὐκ οἶδα γοῦν ὅ,τι τότε καὶ πέπονθα. ἔδοξέ μοι τὸ πᾶν ἀνατρέ-  
πεσθαι, οὐρανός τε πίπτειν καὶ γῆ τῶν βάθρων ἐξάλλεσθαι, τὰ τε γὰρ 25  
τέγη καὶ ὄροφοι ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ὥσπερ ἐγκατερρηγνυντο καὶ βάθρα τῷ*
- f.290<sup>v</sup>      *ἐδάφει | συνταραττόμενα, μήτε προβαίνειν μηθ' ὁλως ἵστασθαι συνε-  
χώρον ἐπὶ ποδῶν.*
- βούλει μαθεῖν καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον τὸ δεινὸν τοῦτο διήρκεσεν, ἡ μᾶλλον εἰς ὅσον ἡ φρικαλέα παρετάθη τοῦ τὰ πάντα συνέχοντος ἀπειλή; ἔτυχον, ὡς 30  
ἔφην, περὶ λόγων ἔκθεσιν ἀσχολούμενος, ἐθροήθην ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ὥρμησα  
προελθεῖν, ἐβαλόμην εἰς νοῦν ὡς οὐκ ἐπιφέρομαι τὰς ἐγκολπίους εἰκόνας,  
ὡς ἐνοδίου ποιοῦμαι εἰσαεῖ φύλακας, πρὸς τὸ εὐκτῆριον, ἐν ᾧ περ ἦσαν,*

ὑπέστρεψα, κεκλεισμένων τὰς πύλας αὐτῷ περιέτυχον, ἠνεώχθησαν αἱ κλεῖδες, εἰσήειν αὐτός, ἀνελαβόμεν ὥσπερ ἐπόθουν, ἐξήειν ἐνστερνισά- 35  
μενος, παρήλθον τὸν οἰκίσκον, ἐν ᾧ τὰς τῶν βίβλων ἀνελίξεις ποιούμενος  
εἴωθα, τὸν ἀνδρῶνα διέδραμον, εἰς τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ διάδρομον ἔφθασα, ἐς  
αὐτὸ προέβην τὸ πρόστωον, ὅπερ ἡ αὐλαία, ὡς μέμνησαι, διαδέχεται καὶ  
ὁ τῆς γῆς κλόνος οὐκ ἔληξεν.

εἰς τοσοῦτον ἴσθι τῆδε καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν παρετάθη τὰ τοῦ σεισμοῦ. 40  
ἡμᾶς δ' ἡ κραταιὰ συντετήρηκε χεὶρ καὶ οὐδὲν οὐδόλως τῶν ἡμετέρων  
παραβλαβὲν εἶδομεν. ἀλλ' εἴθε καὶ εἰσαῦθις καὶ εἰσαεἰ παρὰ τῆς παναλ-  
κοῦς δεξιᾶς συντηρηθείημεν τε καὶ συντηροίμεθα· δέδοικα γὰρ μὴ προ-  
οίμια ταῦτα δεινῶν μειζόνων προκατεβλήθησαν.

### No 60 (ξ')

- f.290<sup>v</sup> Τὴν βίβλον, εὐγενεστάτη καὶ σοφωτάτη κυρία μου, ὡς ἐκ παρόδου  
διήλθομεν, οὐ τοσοῦτον διὰ νωθείαν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν μαθηματι-  
f.291<sup>r</sup> κῶν ἀπειρίαν, ὅσον διὰ | τὴν εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ψευδῇ διελεγχομένην ἐπαγ-  
γελίαν, καθάπερ εἰ σου καὶ ἡ εὐγένεια ἔφθασεν ἐπικρίνασα. πυρὶ δ' ὅμως 5  
ἀναλῶσαι δέον οὐχ ἡγήσάμην, οὐμενοῦν, οὐ τοῦ πόνου φεισάμενος τοῦ  
συνθεμένου τὰ μάταια —μάταιον γὰρ τὸ ψεῦδος καὶ ἀπωλείας παραίτιον,  
εἴπερ καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἀπωλείας προξένον, ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν, ἔγγονον— ἀλλ'  
ἵνα μὴ τῶν τινες ἐξ ἀλλοδαπῆς ἐπιδημούντων ἡμῖν, τῇ βίβλῳ ἐναβρυνό-  
μενοι, τῶν ἡμετέρων κατοφρυῶνται σοφῶν, μεγάλα περὶ ἐσομένων εἰδέ- 10  
ναι ἐπαγγελομένοι καὶ κατ' ἐπιστήμην δῆθεν τερατενόμενοι. ἔχοιεν γὰρ  
ἂν οὗτοι αὐτόθεν αὐτοὺς διελέγχειν, εἰδέπως καὶ ἐπὶ πλεον ζυγομαχεῖεν,  
δεικνύναι σφίσι τὴν βίβλον καὶ ὡς οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς τῶν τοιούτων πρὸς τούσδε  
λέγειν ἀπειράτοι, ψευδῇ δ' ἐπεγνωκότες τῆς αὐτοαληθείας, ἅτε μύσται  
πεφηνότες, παρὰ φαῦλον τιθέμεθα. 15

τούτου μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔκρινα δεῖν τὴν βίβλον διαφθαρῆναι. ἀντιπέ-  
πομπα δέ σου τῇ ἀντιλήψει, ὡς ὅπερ ἂν σοι καὶ εἴη βουλομένη ἐπ' αὐτῇ  
γένοιτο. διὰ δὲ μετρίων, ὡς ἐνῆν, ἰάμβων ἀντειρήκειν καὶ γενναίως ἀντι-  
κατέστην, ἀληθείᾳ συμμάχῳ χρησάμενος, οὗς δῆτα καὶ προσασπέσταλκα.  
ἐφῶγε περισωθείσης, εἰ βουλευτόν, παρεντεθῆναι εἰς ἔλεγχον καὶ ὑποθή- 20  
κην τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἀξιοχρεῶν, πρὸς τε τὰ τοιάδε περιφρονεῖν τε καὶ  
συνετῶς ἀποστρέφεσθαι.

### No 66 (ξς')

- f.292<sup>r</sup> Θεσπέσιέ μοι διδάσκαλε, πατέρα γὰρ καλέσαι βουλόμενος, ἐκ τοῦ  
f.292<sup>v</sup> περιεκ|τικωτέρου, ἐῷ γὰρ εἰπεῖν κρείττονος, ὀνομάσαι προήρημαι· ὁ

γὰρ διδάσκαλος καὶ πατὴρ πάντως, ἅτε δὴ τοῦ εἶναι, ὥς μεμαθήκαμεν, αἷτιος. οὐ μὴν ὁ πατὴρ καὶ διδάσκαλος σπάνιον γάρ, τοῦτό γε καὶ σπανιάκις ἐπιγινόμενον, ὥς γε δὴ ξυνέπεσεν ἐπ' ἐμοί. 5

οὐκ ὀλίγος παρεληλύθει καιρός, ἐξ ὅτε παρ' ἡμᾶς, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, ἡμελήκεις φοιτᾶν καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπᾶραι τῶν αὐτόθι συμβεβήκει σπουδῇ πάσῃ καὶ ἀγωνίᾳ. ἡκηκόειν γὰρ τὸν ἐμὸν παῖδα νόσῳ βαρεῖα συνίσχασθαι, τῷ τοί γε καὶ μὴ προσειπόντες τὰ συντακτήρια τῶν ἐξιτηρίων οὐκ ἡξιώθη- 10  
μεν.

ἀλλὰ νῦν καὶ προσαγορεύομεν ἅμα καὶ συντασσόμεθα καὶ εὐχὰς ἀντιλαβεῖν θέλομεν, ἃς Θεὸς προσδεξάμενος, δώῃ με κατιδεῖν αἰθις καὶ κατασπάσασθαι τὸν ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ τιμώμενον καὶ ποθούμενόν μοι διδάσκαλον. 15

## No 71 (οα')

f.294<sup>r</sup> Τὸν λόγον πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον διτι καὶ ὀφειλόμενον. πῶς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἀγωνιῶν καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἐκδεχόμενος πῆφον περιδεῆς τις τῷ μεταξὺ φαινοίμην, ὅποιαν ἀγνοῶν τὴν ἀπόφασιν λήψομαι; φίλα μὲν γάρ, οἶδα, τοῖς παιδευταῖς τὰ τῶν φοιτητῶν ἀγωνίσματα, διτι καὶ πατρᾷσι τὰ τῶν 5  
τέκνων ψελλίσματα. τὸ δὲ σὸν περὶ τὰς κρίσεις τούτων ἀδέκαστον ἐκ μακροῦ τε καὶ ἀνωθεν ἐπιστάμενος, οὐχ ἥττον νῦν ἢ ὅτε τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐνεστησάμην ἀγωνιῶ καὶ δέδοικα, πλέον ἔγωγε περὶ τῷ λόγῳ ἥπερ Ἀγαμέμνων ἐκεῖνος περὶ τῷ ξανθῷ Μενελάῳ. τὸ γὰρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τίνι περισπουδαστότερον; 10

## No 73 (ογ')

f.294<sup>r</sup> Τοὺς μῆρας, ὥς παρὰ τῶν πρώτων ἐκείνων ὀνοματοθετῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν  
f.294<sup>v</sup> ὠνομάσεται, πνξίῳ πάλαι σημειωσάμενος, ἰδίᾳ μὲν ὥς Ἰουδαῖοι | κα-  
λεῖν αὐτοὺς ἔχουσιν, ἰδίᾳ δ' ὥς Ἕλληνες καὶ ἰδιαίτερον Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν 5  
Ἑλλήνων τὸ δοκιμώτερον, καὶ τὸ βιβλίον κατὰ τινα περιπέτειαν ἀπο-  
λωλεκώς, συχνὰ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἀξιωματτομενῶν πλουτοῦν, γράφαι τε  
καὶ στείλαι, ὥς Ἕλληνές τε κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ πῶς ὠνόμαζον Ἀθηναῖοι,  
ζητῶ τὸν διδάσκαλον.

## No 101 (ρσ')

f.308<sup>v</sup> Πολλοῖς σε ἄλλοις ἀγάμενος, κἀντεῦθεν τὰ κατὰ σέ διὰ θρύλλον  
τιθέμενος, καὶ τούτοις οὐχ ἥμισυ τέθηκα. καὶ πῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐ θαυμά-

σιον, οἷον τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι φιλοσοφίας οὕτω θερμότατον ἐρα-  
 στήν, ὥστε δὴ καὶ μύστην εὐφυνᾶ φανῆναι καὶ μυσταγωγὸν ἰκανώτατον, 5  
 οὐ πρὸς τὰ πρόχειρα δὴ ταύτης ἃ τις ἂν φαίη προτέλεια, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν  
 ὑψηλοτέρων τε καὶ κρυφιοδεστέρων ὁργίων ἐκφάντορα; πῶς δ' οὐχ ὑπερ-  
 1.309<sup>+</sup> βαίνει | τὸν ἔπαινον τῆς σῆς κατ' ἄμφω θερμότητός τε καὶ δεξιότητος  
 τὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐσαυθις καὶ μεθ' ἡμᾶς εἰς εὐσύνοπτόν τε καὶ εὐληπτον λογι-  
 κὴν ὁμοῦ πραγματείαν σπεῦσαι θεῖναι καὶ φυσικὴν καί γε τὸ τῆς φιλο- 10  
 σοφίας μαθηματικόν τε καὶ θεολογικόν, τὸ ὑψηλὸν αὐτόθεν καὶ δυσανά-  
 βατον ἐνεπίβατον ποιῆσαι καὶ ὥς εἰπεῖν εὐδρομον, τὸ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀρχῆθεν  
 γεγονότα, ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ διαλαβεῖν καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα πρὸς γνῶσιν ἐλθεῖν μὴ  
 παραλιπεῖν; ὅποσον ἔχεις ψῆφον, ἦν ἤτησας. οἶμαι δ' ὥς καὶ πολλοὺς ἂν  
 15 σχοίης συμψήφους, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσοι τοῦ φθόνου προτιθέασι τὴν ἀλή-  
 θειαν. ἔρρωσο.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### (A) SOURCES

- Acropolitae, Georgii, Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg, I: *Historia, Breviarum historiae, Theodori Scutariotae Additamenta*; II: *Scripta Minora*, Leipzig, 1903.
- Andrés, G. de, 'Μανουήλ Ὁλοβώλου στίχοι ἐπιτύμβιοι εἰς τὸν Κομνηνὸν κύρ Ἀνδρόνικον τὸν Τορνίκην', *La Giudal de Dios* 175 (1962), 85-88.
- Bachmann, L., *Anecdota Graeca*, II, Leipzig, 1828.
- , *Scholia in Homeri Iliadem*, Leipzig, 1835-1838.
- Benakes, L. G., 'Νικηφόρου Χούμνου, Περὶ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τῶν ιδεῶν. Εἰσαγωγή, κριτική ἔκδοση καὶ Νεοελληνική μετάφραση', *Φιλοσοφία* 3 (1973), 339-81, text 360-79.
- Blastares, M., *Syntagma alphabeticum rerum omnium*, ed. PG vols. 144-145.
- Blemmydae, Nicephori, Curriculum Vitae et Carmina*, ed. A. Heisenberg, Leipzig, 1896.
- Blemmydae, Nicephori, Duo opuscula Geographica*, ed. F. A. G. Spohn, Leipzig, 1818.
- Blemmydae, Nicephori, Epistulae*; Appendix III of *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistulae CCXVII*, ed. N. Festa, Florence, 1898.
- Blemmydae, Nicephori, Epitome Logica et Physica*, PG 142, cols. 675-1320.
- Blemmydae, Nicephori, Expositio in Psalmos*, PG 142, cols. 1321-1622.
- Blemmydae, Nicephori, Liber De Anima*, ed. I. Chatze Nicou, Leipzig, 1784.
- Boissonade, J. F., *Anecdota Graeca*, 5 vols, Paris, 1829-1833. (Repr. Hildesheim, 1962).
- , *Anecdota Nova*, Paris, 1844 (Repr. Hildesheim, 1962).
- Bompaire, J., *Actes de Xéropotamou. Texte (Archives de l'Athos, III)*, Paris, 1964.
- Boulgares, E., 'Ἀνάκρισις περὶ Νικηφόρου τοῦ Βλεμμίδου', vol. III, Leipzig, 1784.
- Browning, R., 'A new source on Byzantine-Hungarian relations in the twelfth century. The inaugural lecture of Michael ὁ τοῦ Ἀγχιάλου ἀσ ὑπάτος τῶν φιλοσόφων', *Balkan Studies* 2 (1961), 173-214 (Repr. Variorum: London, 1977).
- , 'Il codice Marciano Gr. XI. 31 e la schedografia bizantina', *Miscellanea Marciana di Studi Bessarionei, Medioevo e Umanesimo* 24 (Padua, 1976), 21-34 (Repr. Variorum: London, 1977).
- Chatzepsaltes, K., 'Σχέσεις τῆς Κύπρου πρὸς τὸ ἐν Νικαίᾳ Βυζαντινὸν κράτος', *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί* 15 (1951), 65-82, texts 65-66, 75-77.
- , 'Ἡ ἐκκλησία τῆς Κύπρου καὶ τὸ ἐν Νικαίᾳ Πατριαρχεῖον', *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί* 28 (1964), 135-68, text 141-144.
- Χωνιάτου, Μιχαήλ Ἀκομινάτου, τὰ σωζόμενα, ed. Sp. Lampros, Athens, 1879-1880, 2 vols.
- Corderius, Balthasar, *Expositio Patrum Graecorum in Psalmos*, 3 vols., Antwerp, 1643-1646.

- Cramer, A. J., *Anecdota Graeca*, 4 vols., Oxonii, 1839-1841.  
 ———, *Anecdota Graeca Oxoniensia*, 4 vols., Oxonii, 1834-1837.
- Criscuolo, U., 'Due epistole inedite di Manuele Karanteno o Saranteno', *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, N.S. 31 (1977), 103-119.  
 ———, 'Un' inedita didaskalia di Manuele Karanteno o Saranteno', *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*, N.S. 30 (1976), 139-150.  
 ———, 'Un opusculo inedito di Manuele Karanteno o Saranteno', *EEBS* 42 (1975/76), 213-221, text 218-221.
- Cumont, F., 'L'opuscule de Jean Pédiasimos, *Περὶ ἑπταμήνων καὶ ἑννεαμήνων*', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 2 (1923), 5-21, text pp. 14-18.
- Darrouzès, J., *Georges et Démétrius Tornikès, Lettres et Discours*, Paris, 1970.  
 ———, *Recherches sur les ΟΦΦΙΚΙΑ de l' Église byzantine* (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien, 11), Paris, 1970.
- Delehaye, H., 'Constantini Acropolitae hagiographi Byzantini epistularum manipulus', *AB* 51 (1933), 263-284.  
 ———, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues*, Brussels, 1921 (Repr. Variorum: London, 1977).
- Demetrakopoulos, A., *Ὁρθόδοξος Ἑλλάς*, Leipzig, 1872 (Repr. Athens, 1968).
- Diethart, J., *Der Rhetor und Didaskalos Konstantinos Stilbes*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Vienna, 1971.
- Dindorf, G., *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem*, Oxonii, 1875.  
 ———, *Scholia Graeca in Euripides tragoedias ex codicibus aucta et emendata*, vols. I-II, Oxonii, 1863.  
 ———, *Scholia in Sophoclis tragoedias septem ex codicibus aucta et emendata*, Oxonii, 1852.
- Dmitrievskij, A., *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisej, khranjashchikhsja v bibliotekakh pravoslavnago vostoka*, vol. I: *Typika*, part 1, Kiev, 1895; vol. 2: *Euchologia*, Kiev, 1901; vol. 3: *Typika*, part 2, St. Petersburg, 1917.
- Dölger, F., *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges*, vols. I-II, Munich, 1948.
- Downey, G. M., 'Nikolaos Mesarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople', *TAPS*, N.S. 47, part 6, (1957), 855-924.
- Drachmann, A. B., *Scholia vetera in Pindari Carmina*, Leipzig, 1903.
- Dragoumes, S. N., 'Θεοδώρου Δούκα Λασκάρεως Ἐπιτάφιος εἰς Φρεδερίκον Β' Βασιλέα τῶν Ἀλαμανῶν', *Βυζαντις* 2 (1912), 404-413.
- Dübner, F., *Poetae Bucolici et Didactici*, Paris, 1869.  
 ———, *Scholia in Theocritum*, Paris, 1849.
- Dübner F. and Cougny, Ed., *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et Appendice Nova*, 3 vols. Paris, 1864-1890.
- Düring, I., *Die Harmonielehre des Klaudios Ptolemaios*, Göteborg, 1930.
- Eastering P. E. and Kenney, E. J., *Ovidiana Graeca, Fragments of a Byzantine Version of Ovid's Amatory Works* (Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society, Suppl. 1), 1965.



- Ellissen, A., *Analekten der mittel und neugriechischen Literatur*, 5 vols., Leipzig, 1855-1862.
- Enepekides, P., 'Der Briefwechsel des Mystikers Nikolaos Kabasilas', *BZ* 46 (1953), 18-46.
- Ephraim, *Chronographia*, ed. A. Mai, Bonn, 1840, (PG 143, cols. 1-380).
- Eustratiades, S., 'Ἡ ἐν Φιλαδελφείᾳ Μονὴ τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς (Σ)κοτεινῆς', *Hellenika* 3 (1930), 317-339.
- Evangelides, T., *Δύο Βυζαντινὰ Κείμενα*: α) Γρηγορίου Χιονιάδου ἐπιστολαὶ δεκαεὶς ἐκ κώδικος Βιενναίου β) Βησσαρίωνος μονωδία, Hermoupolis, 1910.
- Fabricius J. A. and Harles, G. Ch., *Bibliotheca Graeca*, I-XII, Hamburg, 1790-1809.
- Failler, A., 'Le séjour d'Athanase II d'Alexandrie à Constantinople', *REB* 35 (1977), 43-71.
- Falco, V. de, 'Altri scolii di Giovanni Pediasimo agli Analitici', *BZ* 28 (1928), 251-269.
- , 'L'aritmologia pitagorica nei commenti ad Esiodo', *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica di Filologia-Lingua-Antichità* 7 (1923), 187-215.
- , *In Ioannis Pediasimi Libellum de partu septemestri ac novemestri nondum editum*, Naples, 1923.
- , *Ioannis Pediasimi in Aristotelis Analytica scholia selecta*, Naples, 1926.
- Fatouros, G., *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras (ca. 1290-nach 1350)* (Wiener Byzantinische Studien, Band 10), Vienna, 1973, 2 vols.
- Foerster, R., *Libanii Opera*, Leipzig, 1903-1923.
- Friedlein, G., 'Die Geometrie de Joh. Pediasimos', *Neue Jahr. für Phil. und Paedagogik* 92 (1865), 366-383.
- , *Joannes Pediasimus oder Galenus Geometrie*, Berlin, 1866.
- Frömmel, G., *Scholia in Aristidem*, Frankfurt, 1826.
- Gaisford, Th., *Poetae Minores Graeci*, Oxonii, 1820.
- Gallavotti, C., *Theocritus quique feruntur Bucolici graeci*,<sup>2</sup> Rome, 1955.
- Gautier, P., 'L'édit d'Alexis I Comnène sur la Réforme du Clergé', *REB* 31 (1973), 165-201.
- Gedeon, M. I., *Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ βουνοῦ τοῦ Αὐξεντίου Σεβασμίας μονῆς Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Ἀρχαγγέλου*, Athens, 1895.
- , 'Μανουὴλ τοῦ Φιλῆ ἱστορικὰ ποιήματα', *EA* 3 (1883), 215-220, 244-250, 652-59.
- Gerhardt, C. J., *Das Rechenbuch des Maximus Planudes*, Halle, 1865.
- Giannakes, G. N., 'Μαξίμου Πλανούδη, Μετάφραση τοῦ «Περὶ τῶν δώδεκα βαθμῶν τῆς παραχρήσεως» τοῦ Ψευδο-Αὐγουστίνου', *ΔΩΔΩΝΗ* 3 (1974), 217-256, text 227-243.
- Gigante, M., 'Ciceronis Somnium Scipionis in Graecum a Maximo Planude translaturum', *La Parola del Passato* 13 (1958), 173-174.
- Gill, J., 'An Unpublished Letter of Germanus Patriarch of Constantinople (1222-1240)', *B* 44 (1974), 138-151.
- , 'The Church Union of the Council of Lyons (1274) portrayed in Greek

- documents', *OCP* 40 (1974), 5-45.
- Glettnet, J., 'Die Progymnasmata des Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopulos', *BZ* 33 (1933), 1-12 and 255-70.
- Glycae, Joannis, patriarchae Constantinopolitani opus de vera syntaxeos ratione, supplementum Walziani Corporis Rhetorum Graecorum tribus e codicibus Monacensibus editit atque recensuit, prolegomena, varias lectiones, emendationes, explicationes et indices adjecit Albertus Jahnius*, Bernae, 1849.
- Goar, J., *Euchologion sive rituale graecorum complectens ritus et ordines divinae liturgiae, officiorum, sacramentorum*, Paris, 1647.
- Gouillard, J., 'Après le schisme arsénite. La correspondance inédite du Pseudo-Jean Chilas', *Académie Roumaine, Bull. de la sect. hist.* XXV (1944), 174-210.
- , 'Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie', *TM* 2 (1967), 1-316.
- Grégoire, H., 'Imperatoris Michaelis Palaeologi De Vita sua', *B* 29-30 (1959-60), 447-476.
- Gregorae, Nicephori, Byzantina Historia*, ed. L. Schopen, Bonn, 1829-1855, 3 vols.
- Gregora, Nicephoro, Fiorenzo o Intorno alla sapienza*, a cura di P. L. Leone (Byzantina et Neo-Hellenica Neapolitana, IV), Naples, 1975.
- Gregorii, Cyprii, 'Adversus avari declamationem Libanianam Antilogia', ed. R. Foerster, *Libanii Opera*, vol. 7, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 142-179.
- Gregorii, Cyprii, 'Adversus Corinthiorum declamationem Libanianam Antilogia', ed. R. Foerster, *Libanii Opera*, vol. 6, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 49-82, text pp. 52-82.
- Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου, 'Χρεῖα', ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, II, Paris, 1830, pp. 269-273.
- Gregorii, Cyprii, *Declamationis e codice Leidensi editae*, by M. Schmidt, Iena, 1875-1877.
- Gregorii, Cyprii, 'Declamatio inedita', ed. O. Miller, in *Jahresbericht des königl. Gymnasiums zu Oels für das Schuljahr 1889-90*, Oels, 1890, pp. 1-8, text pp. 4-8.
- Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου, 'Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν Αὐτοκράτορα κυρὸν Μιχαὴλ τὸν Παλαιολόγον καὶ Νέον Κωνσταντῖνον', ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, Paris, 1829, pp. 313-358 (included in PG 142, cols. 345-386).
- Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου, 'Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν Αὐτοκράτορα κυρὸν Ἀνδρόνικον τὸν Παλαιολόγον', ed. J. F. Boissonade, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, Paris, 1829, pp. 359-393 (included in PG 142, cols. 387-418).
- Γεωργίου (= Γρηγορίου) Κυπρίου, 'Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν μέγαν Εὐθύμιον ἐπίσκοπον Μαδύτων', ed. B. Antoniadès, *ΔΙΕΕΕ* 4 (1894), 387-422.
- Gregorii, Cyprii, *Encomium maris*, ed. Bonaventura de Smeet (= Vulcanius), Lugduni Batavorum, 1591.
- Gregorii, Cyprii, 'Laudatio Sancti Magni et Triumphatoris Georgii', PG 142, cols. 299-346.
- Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου, 'Λόγος εἰς τὸ Μαρτύριον τῆς Ἀγίας καὶ ἐνδόξου μεγαλομάρτυρος καὶ ἀθληφόρου Μαρίνης', ed. G. G. Stauroniketianos, *Γρηγόριος δ Παλαμᾶς* 19 (1935), 189-200, 227-239.
- Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ μῦθοι*, ed. by S.

- Eustratiades, Alexandria, 1910. Also in *EPh* 1-5 (1908-1910).
- Georgii, Cyprii, 'Scripta Apologetica', PG 142 cols. 223-300.
- Gregorii, Cyprii, 'Vita', PG 142, cols. 19-30. New ed. by W. Lameere, *La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de Grégoire de Chypre, patriarche de Constantinople* (1283-1289), Brussels-Rome, 1937, pp. 176-191.
- Gregorii, Cyprii, 'Vita S. Lazari', *Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, Tomus III, Brussels, 1910, pp. 588-606.
- Guilland, R., *La correspondance de Nicéphore Grégoras*, Paris, 1927.
- Haustrath, A., 'Die Äsopstudien des Maximus Planudes', *BZ* 10 (1901), 91-105.
- Hayduck, M., *Sophoniae in libros Aristotelis De Anima paraphrasis* (CAG, 23), Berlin, 1883.
- Heiberg, I. L., *Euclidis Opera Omnia*, Leipzig, 1883-1916, 8 vols.
- Heisenberg, A., 'Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion. I. Der Epitaphios des Nikolaos Mesarites auf seinen Bruder Johannes; II. Die Unionsverhandlungen vom 30. August 1206; III. Der Bericht des Nikolaos Mesarites über die politischen und kirchlichen Ereignisse des Jahres 1214', *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-philol. und hist. Klasse*, 1922, Abh. 5; 1923, Abh. 2-3, Munich, 1923 (Repr. Variorum: London, 1973).
- , Nicolaos Mesarites, Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos, *Programm des K. Alten Gymnasiums zu Würzburg für das Studienjahr 1906/1907*, Würzburg, 1907.
- Hercher, R., *Epistolographi Graeci*, Paris, 1873.
- Herman, G. H., *De emendenda ratione graecae grammaticae*, Leipzig, 1801.
- Hilberg, I., *Eustathii Macrembolitae protonobilissimi de Hysmines et Hysminiae Amoribus Libri XI*, Vienna, 1876.
- Hilgard, A., *Grammatici Graeci*, Leipzig, 1894.
- Holzinger, C. R. v., *Ein Idyll des Maximus Planudes*, Vienna, 1893.
- Hude, C., *Scholia in Thucydidem*, Leipzig, 1927.
- Hunger, H., *Corpus Fabularum Aesopicarum*, Leipzig, 1959.
- , *Johannes Chortasmenos (ca. 1370-ca. 1436/37). Briefe, Gedichte und Kleine Schriften. Einleitung, Regesten, Prosopographie, Text* (Wiener Byzantinische Studien, Band VII), Vienna, 1969.
- Iberites, I., 'Ἰωάννου Σταυρακίου εἰς τὰ θαύματα τοῦ Ἀγίου Δημητρίου', *Μακεδονικά* 1 (1940), 334-376.
- Ideler, J. L., *Physici et Medici Graeci Minores*, I-II, Berlin, 1841-1842.
- Ioannou, Th., *Μνημεῖα Ἀγιολογικά*, Venice, 1884.
- Janus, C., *Musici Scriptores Graeci*, Leipzig, 1895.
- Jonker, G. H., *The harmonics of Manuel Bryennios*, Groningen, 1970.
- Keil, B., *Aelii Aristides Smyrnaei quae supersunt Omnia*, Berlin, 1898.
- Papadopoulos-Kerameus, A., 'Ἀνέκδοτος συνοδικὸς ὁρος θεσπισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν Νυμφαίῳ συγκροτηθείσης συνόδου τῷ 1233 ἐτει', *EA* 3 (1882-83), 68-74.

- text 72-74.
- , 'Ανάλεκτα 'Ιεροοολυνμικῆς Σταχυολογίας, 5 vols., St. Petersburg, 1891-98.
- , 'Θεόδωρος Εἰρηνικός, Πατριάρχης οἰκουμενικός ἐν Νικαίᾳ', *BZ* 10 (1901), 182-192, text 187-92.
- , 'Ἰωάννης Σταυράκιος καὶ Δημήτριος Βεάσκος', *VV* 13 (1907), 493-495.
- , 'Κωνσταντίνου Ἀκροπολίτου μῦθοι', *ΔΙΕΕΕ* 3 (1891), 445-451.
- , 'Νικηφόρος Κάλλιστος Ξανθόπουλος', *BZ* 11 (1902), 38-49.
- , *Noctes Petropolitanae*, St. Petersburg, 1913.
- , *Sbornik istočnikov po istorii trapezundskoj imperii*, St. Petersburg, 1897 (Repr. Amsterdam, 1965).
- , *Varia Graeca Sacra*, St. Petersburg, 1909 (Repr. Leipzig, 1975).
- Konstantopoulos, K., *Βυζαντιακά Μολυβδόβουλλα. Συλλογὴ Α. Κ. Π. Σταμούλη*, Athens, 1930.
- Kougeas, S., 'Ὁ Γεώργιος Ἀκροπολίτης κτήτωρ τοῦ Παρισικοῦ κώδικος τοῦ Σουτῆδα (cod. Paris. Gr. 2625)', *Βυζαντινὰ Μεταβυζαντινά*, I, ii (1949), 61-74.
- , 'Zur Geschichte der Münchener Thukydideshandschrift, Augustanus F.', *BZ* 16 (1907), 588-609.
- Kousis, A. P., 'Les oeuvres médicales de Nicéphore Blemmydes selon les manuscrits existants', *Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 19 (1944), 56-76, texts 58-71.
- Kurtz, E., *Die Sprichwörtersammlung des Maximōs Planudes*, Leipzig, 1886.
- , 'Tri sinodalnykh gramoty mitropolita Efesskago Nikolaja Mesarita', *VV* 12 (1906), 99-111.
- Lacapeni, Georgii, epistulae X priores cum epimerismis editae*, by S. Lindstam, Upsala 1910.
- Lacapeni, Georgii, et Andronici Zaridae epistulae XXXII cum epimerismis Lacapeni, accedunt duae epistulae Michaelis Gabrae ad Lacapenum*, ed. S. Lindstam, Gothoburgi, 1924.
- Lacapenae, Georgii, Περὶ συντάξεως τῶν ρημάτων*, Florence, 1515 (1525, 1526).
- Lagopates, S. N., *Γερμανὸς ὁ Β', Πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως-Νικαίας, 1222-1240. Βίος, συγγράμματα καὶ διδασκαλῖαι αὐτοῦ, ἀνέκδοτοι ὁμιλῖαι καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐκδιδόμεναι*, Tripolis, 1913.
- Lameere, W., *La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de Grégoire de Chypre, patriarche de Constantinople (1283-1289)*, Brussels-Rome 1937, text pp. 176-191.
- Lampros, Sp. P., 'Ἐπιγράμματα Μαξίμου Πλανούδη', *NH* 13 (1916), 414-421.
- , 'Ἐπιστολὴ Μαξίμου τοῦ Πλανούδη, Περὶ μεμβρανῶν', *ΔΙΕΕΕ* 2 (1885), 62-64.
- , *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, 4 vols. Athens, 1912-1926.
- Laourdas, B., 'Νικολάου Καβάσιλα, Προσφώνημα εἰς τὸν ἑνδοξὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρα Δημήτριον τὸν μυροβλήτην', *EEBS* 22 (1952), 97-109, text 97-105.
- Lascaris, Theodori, Ducae*, 'Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον μεγαλομάρτυρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ

- Τρύφωνα πρὸ τῆς τῆς βασιλείας ἐντελεχείας*, *Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, IV, Brussels, 1925, pp. 352-357.
- Lascaris, Theodori, *Ducæ, Epistulæ CCXVII*, ed. N. Festa, Florence, 1898.
- Lascaris, Theodori, *Ducæ, imperatoris in laudem Nicaeae urbis oratio*, ed. L. Bachmann (Programm Rostock), Rostock, 1847.
- Laskaris, Theodore II, *Κοσμική Δήλωσις*. ed. N. Festa, *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana* XI (1898), 97-114, XII (1899), 1-52.
- Laurent, V., 'Action de grâces pour la victoire navale remportée sur les Turcs à Atramyttion au cours de l'automne 1334', *Εἰς μνήμην Κ. Ἀμάντου*, Athens, 1960, pp. 25-41.
- Laurent, V. and Darrouzès, J., *Dossier grec de l'Union de Lyon (1273-1277)* (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien, 16), Paris, 1976.
- Laurent, V., 'La correspondance inédite de Georges Babousscomitès', *Εἰς μνήμην Σπυρίδωνος Λάμπρου*, Athens, 1935, pp. 83-100.
- , *Le Corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, V, 1-3: *l'Église*, Paris, 1963-1972.
- , *Les Bulles métriques dans la Sigillographie byzantine*, Athens, 1932.
- , 'Les signataires du second concile des Blachernes', *EO* 26 (1927), 129-149.
- , 'Recherches sur l'histoire et le cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Pitié à Stroumitsa', *EO* 33 (1934), 23-27.
- Legrand, É., *Cent-dix lettres Grecques de François Filelfe*, Paris, 1892.
- , 'Testament de Nil Damilas', *Revue des Études Grecques* 4 (1891), 178-181.
- Lehrs, K., *Die Pindarscholien*, Leipzig, 1873.
- Lemerle, P., *Actes de Kutlunus (Archives de l'Athos, II)*, Text, Paris, 1937.
- Lemerle, P. et al., *Actes de Lavra, I, Des origines à 1204 (Archives de l'Athos, V)*, Paris, 1970.
- , *Actes de Lavra, II, De 1204 à 1328, (Archives de l'Athos, VIII)*, Paris, 1977.
- Lenz, F. W., *P. Aelii Aristides Opera quae extant Omnia*, vol. I, preface by C. A. Behr, Lugduni Batavorum, 1976.
- Leone, P. L. M., 'Le epistole di Niceforo Chumno nel cod. Ambros. Gr. C 71 sup.', *EEBS* 39-40 (1972-73), 75-95, text pp. 90-95.
- Leutsch, E. L. A. et Schneidewin, F. G., *Corpus Pseudoepigraphorum Graecorum*, vols. I-II, Göttingen, 1839-1851 (Repr. Hildesheim, 1958), vol. III, Supplement, ed. W. Studemund, Breslau, 1887 (Repr. Hildesheim, 1961).
- Levi, L., 'Cinque lettere inedite di Manuele Moscopulo', *SIFC* 10 (1902), 57-72.
- Zachariä von Lingenthal, K. E., *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Rechts*,<sup>3</sup> Berlin, 1892 (Repr. Aalen in Würtemberg, 1955).
- Loenertz, R.-J., *Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance*, 2 vols. (Studi e Testi, 186, 208), Vatican City, 1956, 1960.
- , 'Un Pachymère, auteur des lettres du San Marco 356?', *BZ* 53 (1960), 290-99.
- Longo, O., *Scholía Byzantina in Sophocles Oedipum Tyrannum*, Padova, 1976.
- Ludwich, A., *Moschopuli in Batrachomyomachiam commentarii*, Regimontii, 1890.

- , *Nonni Panopolitani Dionisiaka*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1909-1911.
- , *Tryphiodorea, Progr. Regimontii*, 1895.
- Luizides, L. L., *Versio Planudea Dictorum Catonis*, Athens, 1947.
- Macrembolitae, Eustathii, quae ferundur ainigmata*, ed. M. Treu, *Programm des königlichen Friedrichs-Gymnasiums zu Breslau*, Breslau, 1893.
- Mai, A., *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca, cum adnotationibus et latina interpretatione editoris*, vols. I-VII, Rome, 1852-1854.
- Mair, A. W., *Oppian, Colluthus, Triphiodorus* (Loeb Classical Library), London-New York, 1928.
- Manaphes, K. A., 'Ἐπιστολὴ Βασιλείου Πεδιαδίτου μητροπολίτου Κερκύρας πρὸς τὸν πάπαν Ἰννοκέντιον Γ' καὶ ὁ χρόνος πατριαρχείας Μιχαὴλ Δ' τοῦ Αὐτορεια-νοῦ', *EEBS* 42 (1975-76), 429-440.
- , 'Θεοδώρου τοῦ Προδρόμου, Λόγος εἰς τὸν Πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπό-λεως Ἰωάννην Θ' τὸν Ἀγαπητόν', *EEBS* 41 (1974), 223-42, text 226-42.
- , 'Ὁ παραφραστής τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους ἱερομόναχος Σοφονίας (δεύτερον ἡμῖς γ'—ἀρχαί 18' αἰ.) παραλήπτης τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ριγ' τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Ἀκροπολίτου', *Ἐπιστ. Ἐπετηρὶς Φίλος. Σχολῆς Πανεπιστ. Ἀθηνῶν* 26 (1977-78), 295-305.
- Manitius, C., *Hipparchi in Arati et Eudoxi Phainomena Commentariorum Libri tres*, Leipzig, 1894.
- Manousakas, M. I., 'Μακαρίου Φιλαδελφείας τοῦ Χρυσοκεφάλου ἀνέκδοτα χρονικά σημειώματα (1344-1346) εἰς δύο αὐτογράφους Μαρκιανούς κώδικας', *Θησαυρί-σματα* 4 (1967), 7-19, 223-24.
- , 'Νικηφόρου Μοσχοπούλου ἐπιγράμματα σὲ χειρόγραφα τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ', *Hellenika* 15 (1957), 232-246.
- Mansi, J. D., *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vols. I-XXXI (until 1439), Florentiae-Venetiis, 1759-1798 (Repr. with additions by J. B. Martin and L. Petit, vols. I-LIII, Paris-Leipzig, 1901-1927).
- Markopoulos, A., 'Θεοδώρου Β' Λασκάρεως, Ἀνέκδοτον ἐγκώμιον πρὸς τὸν Γε-ώργιον Ἀκροπολίτην', *EEBS* 36 (1968), 104-18, text 111-118.
- Martin, Th. H., *Theonis Smyrnaei Platonici Liber de Astronomia*, Paris, 1849.
- Martin, J., *Scholia in Aratum Vetera*, Stuttgart, 1974.
- Martini, E., *Spigolature bizantine. I versi inediti di Niceforo Choumno, Nota letta all' Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti della Societa Reale di Napoli*, Naples, 1900.
- Matranga, P., *Anecdota Graeca*, vols. I-II, Rome, 1850.
- Megas, A., *M. Tulli Ciceronis Somnium Scipionis καὶ ἡ Μετάφραση τοῦ Μαξίμου Πλα-νουῦδη*, Thessalonike, 1973.
- Mercati, G., 'Blemmidea', *Bessarione* 29 (1915), 226-38 (Repr. Giovanni Mercati, *Opere Minori*, vol. III (Studi e Testi, 78), Vatican, 1937, pp. 428-40).
- , 'Giambi di Ringraziamento per la Riconquista di Constantinopoli (1261)', *BZ* 36 (1936), 289-290.

- , 'Iacobi Bulgariae Archiepiscopi Opuscula', *Bessarione* 33 (1917), 73-89 and 208-227.
- , 'Lettera del monaco Sofonia al filosofo Giuseppe', *SB* 1 (1924), 169-172.
- Metochitae, Theodori, in Aristotelem physicorum sive naturalium etc.*, ed. G. Hervetus, Basel, 1559 (1562, Ravenna, 1614).
- Metochitae, Theodori, Miscellanea philosophica et historica*, ed. C. G. Müller and T. Kiesling, Leipzig, 1821 (Repr. Amsterdam, 1966).
- Miklosich, Fr. and Müller, J., *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, I-VI, Vienna, 1860-1890.
- Moravcsik, G. and Jenkins, R. J. H., *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, De administrando Imperio*, 2nd edition, Washington, D. C., 1967.
- Moschopuli, Manuelis Cretensis, Opuscula Grammatica*, ed. F. N. Titze, Leipzig, 1822.
- Moschopuli, Manuelis, Περί τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ ῥημάτων συντάξεως*, Florence, 1526.
- Moschopuli, Manuelis Byzantini, Scholia ad Homeri Iliados librum I-II*, ed. J. Scherpezeelii, Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1719.
- Moschopulo, Manuele, Methodus Grammaticae artis Graecae*, ed. I. Vualder, Basel, 1540.
- Müller, C., *Geographi Graeci Minores*, 2 vols., Paris, 1855, 1861.
- , *Ptolemaei Geographia*, Paris, 1883.
- Nauck, A., *Lexicon Vindobonense*, St. Petersburg, 1867.
- Nystazopoulou, M., 'Ο Ἀλανικός τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ἀλανίας Θεοδώρου καὶ ἡ εἰς τὸν πατριαρχικὸν θρόνον ἀνάρρησις Γερμανοῦ τοῦ Β', *EEBS* 33 (1964), 270-278.
- Oikonomides, N., *Actes de Dionysiou (Archives de l'Athos, IV)*, Text, Paris, 1968.
- Pachymeris, Georgii, Declamationes XIII*, ed. J. F. Boissonade, Paris, 1848, (Repr. Amsterdam, 1966).
- Pachymeris, Georgii, De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis*, I-II, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn, 1835.
- Pachymeris, Georgii, diaconi, protecdici et dicaeophylacis, Ἐπιτομή τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους Λογικῆς*, Paris, 1548.
- Pachymerae, Georgii, hieromnemonis in Universam fere Aristotelis philosophiam e Graeco in Lat. serm. conversa a Philippo Becchio*, Basel, 1560.
- Pachymerii, Georgii, Epitome philosophiae Aristotelicae*, ed. J. Wagelin, Augsburg, 1600.
- Palmer, A., *P. Ovidi Nasonis Heroides, with the Greek Translation of Planudes*, Oxford, 1898 (Repr. Hildesheim, 1967).
- Pantokratorinos, A., 'Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τοῦ Ἀθανασίου Α' οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου (1289-1293 καὶ 1304-1310) συγγραφεῖς ὑπὸ Ἰωσήφ Καλοθέτου μοναχοῦ', *Θεολογικά* 13 (1940), 59-107.
- Papadopoulos, J. B., 'Γρηγορίου Χιονιάδου τοῦ ἀστρονόμου ἐπιστολαί', *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, I (Thessalonike, 1927), 151-204.
- , *Théodore II Laskaris, empereur de Nicée*, Paris, 1908.
- Papageorgius, P., *Scholia in Sophoclis tragoedias vetera*, Leipzig, 1888.
- Pediasimi, Theodori, eiusque amicorum quae exstant*, ed. M. Treu, *Programm des Victoria-*

text 72-74.

- , 'Ανάλεκτα 'Ιεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας, 5 vols., St. Petersburg, 1891-98.
- , 'Θεόδωρος Εἰρηνικός, Πατριάρχης οἰκουμενικὸς ἐν Νικαίᾳ', *BZ* 10 (1901), 182-192, text 187-92.
- , 'Ἰωάννης Σταυράκιος καὶ Δημήτριος Βεάσκος', *VV* 13 (1907), 493-495.
- , 'Κωνσταντίνου Ἀκροπολίτου μῦθοι', *ΔΙΕΕΕ* 3 (1891), 445-451.
- , 'Νικηφόρος Κάλλιστος Ξανθόπουλος', *BZ* 11 (1902), 38-49.
- , *Noctes Petropolitanae*, St. Petersburg, 1913.
- , *Sbornik istočnikov po istorii trapezundskoj imperii*, St. Petersburg, 1897 (Repr. Amsterdam, 1965).
- , *Varia Graeca Sacra*, St. Petersburg, 1909 (Repr. Leipzig, 1975).
- Konstantopoulos, K., *Βυζαντιακά Μολυβδόβουλλα. Συλλογὴ Α. Κ. Π. Σταμούλη*, Athens, 1930.
- Kougeas, S., 'Ὁ Γεώργιος Ἀκροπολίτης κτήτωρ τοῦ Παρισινοῦ κώδικος τοῦ Σουτῆδα (cod. Paris. Gr. 2625)', *Βυζαντινὰ Μεταβυζαντινὰ*, I, ii (1949), 61-74.
- , 'Zur Geschichte der Münchener Thukydideshandschrift, Augustanus F.', *BZ* 16 (1907), 588-609.
- Kousis, A. P., 'Les oeuvres médicales de Nicéphore Blemmydes selon les manuscrits existants', *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν* 19 (1944), 56-76, texts 58-71.
- Kurtz, E., *Die Sprichwörtersammlung des Maximos Planudes*, Leipzig, 1886.
- , 'Tri sinodalnykh gramoty mitropolita Efesskago Nikolaja Mesarita', *VV* 12 (1906), 99-111.
- Lacapeni, Georgii, *epistulae X priores cum epimerismis editae*, by S. Lindstam, Upsala 1910.
- Lacapeni, Georgii, et Andronici Zaridae *epistulae XXXII cum epimerismis Lacapeni, accedunt duae epistulae Michaelis Gabrae ad Lacapenum*, ed. S. Lindstam, Gothoburgi, 1924.
- Lacapenae, Georgii, *Περὶ συντάξεως τῶν ρημάτων*, Florence, 1515 (1525, 1526).
- Lagopates, S. N., *Γερμανὸς ὁ Β', Πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως-Νικαίας, 1222-1240. Βίος, συγγράμματα καὶ διδασκαλίαι αὐτοῦ, ἀνέκδοτοι ὁμίλιαὶ καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐκδιδόμεναι*, Tripolis, 1913.
- Lameere, W., *La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de Grégoire de Chypre, patriarche de Constantinople (1283-1289)*, Brussels-Rome 1937, text pp. 176-191.
- Lampros, Sp. P., 'Ἐπιγράμματα Μαξίμου Πλανούδη', *NH* 13 (1916), 414-421.
- , 'Ἐπιστολὴ Μαξίμου τοῦ Πλανούδη, Περὶ μεμβρανῶν', *ΔΙΕΕΕ* 2 (1885), 62-64.
- , *Παλαιολόγια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά*, 4 vols. Athens, 1912-1926.
- Laourdas, B., 'Νικολάου Καβάσιλα, Προσφώνημα εἰς τὸν ἔνδοξον τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρα Δημήτριον τὸν μυροβλήτην', *EEBS* 22 (1952), 97-109, text 97-105.
- Lascaris, Theodori, *Ducae*, 'Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὸν ἅγιον μεγαλομάρτυρα τοῦ Χριστοῦ



- Τρύφωνα πρὸ τῆς τῆς βασιλείας ἐντελεχείας*, *Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, IV, Brussels, 1925, pp. 352-357.
- Lascaris, Theodori, Ducae, *Epistulae CCXVII*, ed. N. Festa, Florence, 1898.
- Lascaris, Theodori, Ducae, *imperatoris in laudem Nicaeae urbis oratio*, ed. L. Bachmann (Programm Rostock), Rostock, 1847.
- Laskaris, Theodore II, 'Κοσμικὴ Διήλωσις'. ed. N. Festa, *Giornale della Societa Asiatica Italiana* XI (1898), 97-114, XII (1899), 1-52.
- Laurent, V., 'Action de grâces pour la victoire navale remportée sur les Turcs à Atramyttion au cours de l'automne 1334', *Εἰς μνήμην Κ. Ἀμάντου*, Athens, 1960, pp. 25-41.
- Laurent, V. and Darrouzès, J., *Dossier grec de l' Union de Lyon (1273-1277)* (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien, 16), Paris, 1976.
- Laurent, V., 'La correspondance inédite de Georges Babouscomitès', *Εἰς μνήμην Σπυρίδωνος Λάμπρου*, Athens, 1935, pp. 83-100.
- , *Le Corpus des sceaux de l' empire byzantin*, V, 1-3: l' Église, Paris, 1963-1972.
- , *Les Bulles métriques dans la Sigillographie byzantine*, Athens, 1932.
- , 'Les signataires du second concile des Blachernes', *EO* 26 (1927), 129-149.
- , 'Recherches sur l'histoire et le cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Pitié à Stroumitsa', *EO* 33 (1934), 23-27.
- Legrand, É., *Cent-dix lettres Grecques de François Filelfe*, Paris, 1892.
- , 'Testament de Nil Damilas', *Revue des Études Grecques* 4 (1891), 178-181.
- Lehrs, K., *Die Pindarscholien*, Leipzig, 1873.
- Lemerle, P., *Actes de Kutlumus (Archives de l'Athos, II)*, Text, Paris, 1937.
- Lemerle, P. et al., *Actes de Lavra, I, Des origines à 1204 (Archives de l'Athos, V)*, Paris, 1970.
- , *Actes de Lavra, II, De 1204 à 1328, (Archives de l'Athos, VIII)*, Paris, 1977.
- Lenz, F. W., *P. Aelii Aristides Opera quae extant Omnia*, vol. I, preface by C. A. Behr, Lugduni Batavorum, 1976.
- Leone, P. L. M., 'Le epistole di Niceforo Chumno nel cod. Ambros. Gr. C 71 sup.', *EEBS* 39-40 (1972-73), 75-95, text pp. 90-95.
- Leutsch, E. L. A. et Schneidewin, F. G., *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, vols. I-II, Göttingen, 1839-1851 (Repr. Hildesheim, 1958), vol. III, Supplement, ed. W. Studemund, Breslau, 1887 (Repr. Hildesheim, 1961).
- Levi, L., 'Cinque lettere inedite di Manuele Moscopulo', *SIFC* 10 (1902), 57-72.
- Zachariä von Lingenthal, K. E., *Geschichte des griechisch-römischen Rechts*,<sup>3</sup> Berlin, 1892 (Repr. Aalen in Würtemberg, 1955).
- Loenertz, R.-J., *Démétrius Cydonès, Correspondance*, 2 vols. (Studi e Testi, 186, 208), Vatican City, 1956, 1960.
- , 'Un Pachymère, auteur des lettres du San Marco 356?', *BZ* 53 (1960), 290-99.
- Longo, O., *Scholia Byzantina in Sophocles Oedipum Tyrannum*, Padova, 1976.
- Ludwich, A., *Moschopuli in Batrachomyomachiam commentarii*, Regimontii, 1890.

- Gymnasiums zu Potsdam*, Potsdam, 1899.
- Pentogalos, G., 'Ἰωσήφ Ρακενδύτου Ὑμνοί', *Hellenika* 23 (1970), 114-18.
- , *Οἱ ἱατρικῆς γνώσεις Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Ρακενδύτη καὶ ἡ σχετικὴ ἀνέκδοτη ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ Μιχαὴλ Γαβρᾶ*, Athens, 1970.
- Pertusi, A., *Scholia vetera in Hesiodi Opera et Dies*, Milan, 1955.
- Petit L. and Korablev, B., *Actes de Chilandar (Actes de l'Athos, V)*, *VV* 17 (1911), supplement.
- Philae, Manuelis, Carmina*, I-II, ed. E. Miller, Paris, 1855-1857.
- Philae, Manuelis, Carmina inedita*, ed. A. Martini, *Atti della R. Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti*, vol. XX, Supplement, Naples, 1900.
- Photopoulos, Ph., 'Ἀνέκδοτα Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Ἀκροπολίτου', *Nea Sion* 11 (1911), 862-69, and 12 (1912), 278-81.
- Planudis, Maximi, Comparatio hiemis et veris*, ed. M. Treu, *Progr. Gymnas. Ohlau*, 1878.
- Planudis, Maximi, Monachi, Epistulae*, ed. M. Treu, Breslau, 1890 (Repr. Amstelodamum, 1960).
- Planudis, Maximi, Idyllium*, ed. P. M. Pontani, University of Padova, *Instituto di studi bizantini e neogreci, Quaderni* 7, 1973.
- Μαξίμου Πλανούδη μετάφρασις τῶν Ὀβιδίου ἐπιστολῶν*, ed. M. Papathomopoulos (Πέλεια, I), Ioannina, Φιλοσοφ. Σχολὴ Πανεπιστημίου, 1976.
- Polemis, D. I., 'The speech of Constantine Akropolites on St. John Merciful the Young', *AB* 91 (1973), 31-54, text 43-53.
- Previale, L., 'Due monodie inedite du Matteo di Efeso', *BZ* 41 (1941), 4-39.
- , 'Un Panegirico inedito per Michele VIII Paleologo', *BZ* 42 (1943), 1-49, text 15-45.
- Rabe, H., *Hermogenis Opera, Rhetores Graeci*, VI, Leipzig, 1913.
- Rein, E., *Die Florentiner Briefsammlung* (Annales Academie Scientiarum Fennicae, Ser. B, XIV, 2), Helsinki, 1915.
- Reinsch, D., *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos im Codex Vindobonensis theol. gr. 174*, Berlin, 1974.
- Rhalles, G. A. and Potles, M., *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, I-VI, Athens, 1852-1859.
- Sakellion, I., 'Ἀνέκδοτος ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Ἰωάννου Δούκα Βατάτση πρὸς τὸν πάπαν Γρηγόριον, ἀνευρεθεῖσα ἐν Πάτμῳ', *Ἀθήναιος* 1 (1872), 369-78.
- , 'Μανουὴλ Φιλῆ τοῦ Ἐφεσίου στίχοι ἀνέκδοτοι', *ΔΙΕΕΕ* 3 (1890), 315-16.
- Sathas, K. N., *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vols. I-VII, Venice-Paris, 1872-1894.
- Scheindler, A., *Nonni Panopolitani paraphrasis S. Evangelii Ioannei*, Leipzig, 1881.
- Schreiner, P., *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken* (CFHB, Series Vindobonensis, XII/I, II), Vienna, 1975, 1977.
- Scutariotae, Theodori, Additamenta ad Georgii Acropolitae Historiam*, in *Georgii Acropolitae, Opera*, I, ed. A. Heisenberg (q.v.), pp. 274-302.
- Ševčenko, I., 'The Imprisonment of Manuel Moschopoulos in the year 1305 or 1306',

- Speculum* 27 (1952), 133-157.
- Siderides, X., 'Μανουήλ Ὁλοβώλου Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Μιχαήλ Ἡ' Παλαιολόγον', *EEBS* 3 (1926), 168-91, text 174-191.
- Skoutariotes, ed. by K. N. Sathas, 'Ἀνωρύμου, Σύνοψις Χρονικῆς, *MB* VII, Paris, 1894, pp. 1-556.
- Stephanus, R., *De ratione examinande orationis*, Paris, 1545.
- Sternhach, L., *Anthologiae Planudeae, Appendix Barberino-Vaticana*, Leipzig, 1890.
- Sykoutres, I., 'Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου Ὀμιλῖαι εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Διονύσιον καὶ τὴν Ἀγίαν Μαρίναν', *EPh* 23 (1924), 406-424.
- , 'Περὶ τὸ σχίσμα τῶν Ἀρσενιατῶν', *Hellenika* 2 (1929), 267-332; 3 (1930), 15-44.
- , 'Συνοδικὸς τόμος τῆς ἐκλογῆς τοῦ Πατριάρχου Γερμανοῦ τοῦ Γ', *EEBS* 9 (1932), 178-212.
- Tannery, P., *Diophanti Alexandrini Opera Omnia*, vols. I-II, Leipzig, 1893-95.
- , *Quadrivium de George Pechymère ou Σύνταγμα τῶν τεσσάρων μαθημάτων ἀριθμητικῆς, μουσικῆς γεωμετρίας καὶ ἀστρονομίας* (Studi e Testi, 94), Vatican, 1940.
- Tăutu, A., *Acta Urbani IV, Clementis IV, Gregorii X (1261-1276)*, Pontificia commissio ad redigendum CIC orientalis, Fontes, ser. III, vol. V, 1, Vatican City, 1953.
- Thalheim, Th., *Lysiae Orationes*, Leipzig, 1901.
- La porte-du Theil, F. J. G., 'Notices et Extraits d'un volume de la Bibliothèque Nationale, côte MCCIX parmi les manuscrits grecs, et contenant les opuscules et lettres anecdotes de Théodôre l'Hyrtacénien', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* V (1798), 709-744; VI (1800), 1-48.
- Themelis, P. T., 'Αὐτοκράτορος Θεοδώρου λόγος ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς Ἀκαθίστου', *Nea Sion* 6 (1907), 826-33, ed. also in *Σωτήρ* 16 (1894), 186-92.
- Theocharides, G., 'Δημήτριος Δούκας Καβάσιλας καὶ ἄλλα προσωπικὰ ἐξ ἀνεκδότου χρυσοβούλλου τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ', *Hellenika* 17 (1962), 1-23.
- Thomas, G. M., *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, Venice, 1880.
- Treu, M., 'Der Philosoph Joseph', *BZ* 8 (1899), 1-64.
- , *Dichtungen des Gross-Logotheten Theodoros Metochites, Programm des Victoria-Gymnasiums zu Potsdam Ostern 1895*, Potsdam, 1895.
- , *Die Gesandtschaftsreise des Rhetors Theodoulos Magistros, Jahrbücher für Klass. Philologie XXVII, Suppl. B*, 1902.
- , 'Ein Byzantinisches Schulgespräch', *BZ* 2 (1893), 96-105.
- , 'Ein Kritiker des Timarion', *BZ* 1 (1892), 361-365.
- , 'Manuel Holobolos', *BZ* 5 (1896), 538-559.
- , *Manuelis Holoboli Orationes*, I-II, *Programm des königlichen Victoria-Gymnasiums zu Potsdam*, Potsdam 1906, 1907.
- , *Matthaios metropolit von Ephesos. Ueber sein leben und seine schriften, Programm des Victoria-Gymnasiums zu Potsdam*, Potsdam, 1901.
- , 'Νέος κῶδιξ τῶν ἔργων τοῦ μεγάλου λογοθέτου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Ἀχρο-

- πολίτου', *ΔΙΕΕΕ* 4 (1892), 35-50.
- , *Nicephori Chrysobergae ad Angelos Orationes tres, Programm des königlichen Friedrichs-Gymnasiums zu Breslau*, Breslau, 1892.
- Tübner, F., *Scholia in Theocritum*, Paris, 1849.
- Usener, H. and Radermacher, L., *Dionysii Halicarnasei Opuscula*, vol. I, Leipzig, 1899.
- Vascosanum, M., Magister's *Kat' ἀλφάβητον ὀνομάτων ἁπτικῶν ἐκλογαὶ* together with Manuel Moschopoulos' *Τῶν ὀνομάτων Ἀπτικῶν ξυλλογή*, Lutetiae, 1532.
- Vassiliev, A., *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, vol. I, Moscow, 1893.
- Verpeaux, J., *Pseudo-Kodinos, Traité des Offices*, Paris, 1966.
- Villoison, J. B. G. d'Anse de, *Anecdota Graeca*, vol. II, Venice, 1781.
- Vincent, A. J. H., *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi* 16 (1847), 290-315, ed. of John Peadarimos' harmonics; 362-553, ed. of George Pachymeres' harmonics and a section of his arithmetic.
- Vogel, K., *Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts, Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar* (Wiener Byzantinische Studien, Band VI), Vienna, 1968.
- Wagner, R., *Mythographi Graeci*,<sup>2</sup> vol. 1, Stuttgart, 1925 (Repr. Stuttgart, 1965).
- Wallis, J., *Opera Mathematica*, Oxoniae, 1699.
- Walz, Chr., *Rhetores Graeci*, vols. 1-9, Stuttgart, 1832-36.
- Weinberger, G., *Tryphiodori et Colluthi Carmina*, Leipzig, 1896.
- Wendel, C., 'Die Technopägnien-Ausgabe des Rhetors Holobolos', *BZ* 16 (1907), 460-67.
- , *Scholia in Theocritum Vetera*, Leipzig, 1914.
- West, M. L., *Hesiod Works and Days*, Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Westerink, L. G., *Arethae Archiepiscopi Caesariensis Scripta Minora*, vols. I-II, Leipzig, 1968-72.
- , 'Le Basilikos de Maxime Planude', *BS* 27 (1966), 98-103; 28 (1967), 54-67; 29 (1968), 34-50.
- , 'Some Unpublished Letters of Blemmydes', *BS* 12 (1951), 43-55.
- , 'Trois Textes inédits sur Saint Diomède de Nicée', *AB* 84 (1966), 166-227.
- Xanthopuli, Nicephori Callisti, Enarratio de episcopis Byzantii et de patriarchis omnibus Constantinopolitanis*, PG 147.
- Xylander, G., *Diophanti Alexandrini rerum arithmeticarum libri sex, quorum primi duo adiecta habent scholia Maximi (ut coniectura est) Planudis*, Basel, 1575.
- Zepos, J. and Zepos, P., *ſus graecoromanum*, 8 vols., Athens, 1931.

## (B) MODERN WORKS

- Ahrweiler, H., 'L'histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne entre les deux occupations turques (1081-1317), particulièrement au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *TM* 1 (1965), 1-204.
- Allan, D. J., 'On the manuscripts of the 'De Caelo' of Aristotle', *Classical Quarterly* 30 (1936), 16-21.
- Allatius, L., *De Ecclesiae occidentalis atque orientalis perpetua consensione libri tres*, Co-

- logne, 1648.
- Allen, T. W., 'Palaeographica III. A Group of Ninth-Century Greek Manuscripts', *Journal of Philology* 21 (1893), 48-55.
- Amantos, K., 'Διδάσκαλος διδασκάλων', *Hellenika* 8 (1935), 70-72.
- Anastasiou, I., 'Η κατάσταση της Παιδείας εις τὸ Βυζάντιον κατὰ τὴν διάρκειαν τοῦ Θ' αἰῶνος', Thessalonike, 1966.
- Anderson, J. Clifford, An Examination of Two Twelfth-Century Centers of Byzantine Manuscript Production, Ph. D. Diss., Princeton University, 1976.
- Andreeva, M. A., 'Nazory Theodora II. Laskarise na idealniho panovníka', in *z dějin vyhodní Evropy a Slovanství, Sborník věnovaný prof. dr. J. Bidlo*, Prague, 1928, pp. 71-76.
- , *Očerki po kul'ture vizantijskago dvora v XIII veke (Studies in the Culture of the Byzantine Court in the XIIIth century)*, Prague, 1927.
- , 'Polemika Feodora II. Laskariia s Nikiforom Vlemmidom', in *Zvláštmi otisk z Věstník Král. České Spol. Nauk, Tr. I*, 1929, pp. 1-36.
- Andrés, Gr. de, *Catálogo de los Códices Griegos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*, vols. II-III, Madrid, 1965, 1967.
- , *Catálogo de los Códices Griegos Desaparecidos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*, El Escorial, 1968.
- Angelopoulos, A., Νικόλαος Καβάσιλας Χαμαετός. 'Η ζωή καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ' (Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων, 5), Thessalonike, 1970.
- Angold, M., *A Byzantine Government in Exile. Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea (1204-1261)*, Oxford University Press, 1975.
- , 'Byzantine 'Nationalism' and the Nicaean Empire', *BMGS* 1 (1975), 49-70.
- Antoniadou, B., 'Εγχειρίδιον ιστορίας τῆς φιλοσοφίας. Β, 'Η μέση φιλοσοφία, Constantinople, 1929.
- Armstrong A. H. and Markus, R. A., *Christian Faith and Greek Philosophy*, London, 1960.
- Arnakis, G., 'George Pachymeres. A Byzantine Humanist', *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 12 (1966-67), 161-67.
- Astruc, C. and Concasty, M.-L., *Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits, Catalogue des manuscrits Grecs, Le supplément Grec*, vol. III, Paris, 1960.
- Astruc, C., 'La Tradition Manuscrite des Oeuvres Oratoires Profanes de Théodore II Lascaris', *TM* I (1965), 393-404.
- Athenagoras, Metropolitan, 'Ο θεσμός τῶν συγκέλλων ἐν τῷ Οἰκουμένικῳ Πατρι-αρχείῳ', *EEBS* 4 (1927), 3-38; 5 (1928), 169-92, 6 (1929), 103-42.
- Atsalos, B., *La terminologie du livre-manuscrit à l'époque byzantine. Première partie: Termes désignant le livre-manuscrit et l'écriture*, (Ἑλληνικά, Παράρτημα, 21), Thessalonike, 1971.
- , 'Sur quelques termes relatifs à la reliure des manuscrits grecs', *Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> congrès int. des ét. byz.*, Bucharest 6-12 Sept. 1971, III, Bucharest, 1976, pp. 43-49 (with 3 plates).

- Aubineau, M., 'Georges Hiéromnémon ou Georges Pachymérès, Commentateur du Ps.-Denys?', *JThS* 22 (1971), 541-44.
- Aubreton, R., *Démétrius Triclinius et les recensions médiévales de Sophocle* (Collection d'Études Anciennes), Paris, 1949.
- , 'La Tradition Manuscrite des Épigrammes de l'Anthologie Palatine', *Revue des Études Anciennes* 70 (1968), 32-82.
- Bandini, A. M., *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, I-III, Florence, 1764-70 (Repr. Leipzig, 1961).
- Banescu, N., 'Le patriarche Athanase I<sup>er</sup> et Andronic II Paléologue. État religieux, politique et social de l'empire', *Académie Roumaine, Bulletin de la Section Historique* 23 (Bucharest, 1942), 28-56.
- Bartelink, G. J., 'Homerismen in Nikolaos Mesarites' Beschreibung der Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel', *BZ* 70 (1977), 306-309.
- Bassi, D., 'I Manoscritti di Giovanni Pediasimo', *Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere, Rendiconti*, Serie II, 31 (1898), 1399-1418.
- Beck, H.-G., 'Besonderheiten der Literatur in der Palaiologenzeit', *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues*, Venice, 1971, pp. 41-52 (Repr. Variorum: London, 1972).
- , 'Das literarische Schaffen der Byzantiner', *Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 294 (1974), 5-34.
- , *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, XII, 2, 1), Munich, 1959.
- , *Theodoros Metochites. Die Krise des byzantinischen Weltbildes im 14. Jahrhundert*, Munich, 1952.
- Bell, H. I., 'The Commentary on the Psalms by Nicephorus Blemmydes', *BZ* 30 (1929-30), 295-300.
- Belting, H., *Das Illumierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft* (Abh. der Heidelberger Akad. der Wiss. Philos.-hist. Klasse, Jahrgang 1970, 1 Abh.), 1970.
- Bernandinello, S., *Eliminatio codicum della Metaphisica di Aristotele* (Studia Aristotelica, 4), Padua, 1970.
- , 'I testi Bessarionei della Metaphisica di Aristotele', *Riv. di Studi Biz. e Neoecclesastici*, N.S. 5 (15) (1968), 127-145.
- Bick, J., *Die Schreiber der Wiener griechischen Handschriften* (Museion, Veröffentlichungen aus der Nationalbibliothek in Wien. Abhandlungen, I), Vienna-Prague-Leipzig, 1920.
- Bogiatzides, I. K., 'Οἱ Πρίγκιπες Χειλᾶδες τῆς Λακεδαιμόνου', *NH* 19 (1925), 192-209.
- Bolgar, R. R., *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries*, Cambridge, 1954.
- Booamra, J. L., *The Ecclesiastical Reforms of Patriarch Athanasius of Constantinople* (1289-1293; 1303-1309), Ph.D. Diss., Fordham University, 1976.
- Bréhier, L., 'Blemmydes', *DHGE* IX, 178-82.
- , 'Notes sur l'histoire de l'enseignement supérieur à Constantinople', *B* 3 (1927),

- 73-94; 4 (1929), 13-28.
- Brezeanu, S., 'Notice sur les rapports de Frédéric II de Hohenstaufen avec Jean III Vatatzes', *RHSE* 12 (1974), 583-585.
- Browning, R., 'Byzantine Scholarship', *Past and Present* 28 (Oxford, 1964), 3-22 (Repr. Variorum: London, 1977).
- , 'Byzantinische Schulen und Schulmeister', *Das Altertum* 9 (1963), 105-18.
- , 'Enlightenment and Repression in Byzantium in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Past and Present* 69 (Oxford, 1975), 3-23 (Repr. Variorum: London, 1977).
- , *Greece—Ancient and Medieval. An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at Birkbeck College 15th June 1966*, London, 1966.
- , 'Homer in Byzantium', *Viator* 6 (Los Angeles, 1975), 15-33 (Repr. Variorum: London, 1977).
- , 'Literacy in the Byzantine World', *BMGS* 4 (1978), 39-54.
- , 'Recentiores non Deteriores', *BICS* 7 (1960), 11-21 (Repr. Variorum: London, 1977).
- , 'The Language of Byzantine Literature', in S. Vryonis, Jr., (ed.), *Βυζαντινὰ καὶ Μεταβυζαντινά*, vol. I: *The "Past" in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture* (Undena Publications), Malibu, 1978, pp. 103-133.
- , 'The Patriarchal School at Constantinople in the Twelfth Century', *B* 32 (1962), 167-202; 33 (1963), 11-40.
- , 'The Speeches and Letters of Georgios Tornikes Metropolitan of Ephesos (XIIth century)', *Actes du XII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, Ochride, 1961, vol. II, pp. 421-27.
- Brumbaugh R. S. and Wells, R., *The Plato manuscripts. A new index prep. by the Plato Microfilm project of the Yale University Library*, New Haven, 1968.
- Buchthal, H., 'Illuminations from an early Palaeologan Scriptorium', *JOB* 21 (1972), 47-56.
- Buchthal, H. and Belting, H., *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople. An Atelier of Late Byzantine Book Illumination and Calligraphy* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 16), Washington, DC., 1978.
- Buckler, G., 'Byzantine Education', in *Byzantium. An Introduction to East Roman Civilization*, ed. N. H. Baynes and H. St. L. B. Moss, Oxford, 1948, pp. 200-220.
- Burkert, W., *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (English edition), Cambridge, Mass., 1972.
- Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, *The Byzantine Empire*. Part II: *Government, Church and Civilisation*, ed. by J. M. Hussey, Cambridge University Press, 1967.
- Canart, P., *Codices Vaticani Graeci, Codices 1745-1962*, Vatican City, 1970.
- , *Catalogue des Manuscrits Grecs de l'Archivio di San Pietro* (Studi e Testi, 246), Vatican City, 1966.
- , 'Scribes grecs de la Renaissance. Additions et corrections aux répertoires de Vogel-Gardthausen et de Patrinelis', *Scriptorium* 17 (1963), 56-82.

- Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, ed. F. Cumont *et al.*, vols. 1-12, Brussels, 1898-1953.
- Chabiaras, D., 'Οἱ Βυζαντινοὶ Αὐτοκράτορες Θεοδόσιος ὁ Μικρὸς καὶ Λέων ὁ Σοφὸς ἔξοχοι Καλλιγραφεῖς', *Ἐπετηρὶς Φιλολογικοῦ Συλλόγου Παρνασσοῦ*, Περ. 2α, 12 (1916), 189-209.
- Chapman, C., *Michel Paléologue, restaurateur de l'empire byzantin (1260-1282)*, Paris, 1926.
- Charanis, P., 'On the Ethnic Composition of Byzantine Asia Minor in the Thirteenth Century', *Προσφορά εἰς Στίλπωνα Π. Κυριακίδην* (= *Ἑλληνικά*, 4), Thessalonike, 1953, pp. 140-147.
- Charitakis, G., 'Κατάλογος τῶν χρονολογημένων κωδίκων τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς βιβλιοθήκης Καΐρου', *EEBS* 4 (1927), 109-204.
- Marava-Chatzinicolaou, A. and Toufexi-Paschou, Chr., *Catalogue of the Illuminated Byzantine Manuscripts of the National Library of Greece*, vol. I, *Manuscripts of the New Testament Texts 10th-12th Century* (Academy of Athens), Athens, 1978.
- Clark, D. L., *Rhetoric in Graecoroman Education*, Columbia, 1957.
- Clément, O., 'Byzance et le Concile de Lyon', *Κληρονομία* 7 (1975), 254-272.
- Codellas, S. P., 'Nikephoros Blemmydes Philosophical Works and Teachings,' *Proc. Xth Internat. Congr. of Phil.*, Amsterdam, 1949, p. 1117ff.
- Constantelos, D. J., 'Life and social welfare activity of patriarch Athanasios I (1289-1293, 1303-1309) of Constantinople', *The Byzantine Fellowship Lectures*, 2, Brookline, 1975, pp. 73-88.
- W-Conus, W., 'Les écoles de Psellos et de Xiphilin sous Constantin IX Monomaque', *TM* 6 (1976), 223-243.
- Criscuolo, U., 'Chiesa ed insegnamento a Bisanzio nel XII secolo: Sul problema della cosiddetta "Accademia patriarcale"', *Siculorum Gymnasium*, N.S. 28 (1975), 373-390.
- Cunningham, I. C., 'Greek Manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland', *Scriptorium* 24 (1970), 360-71.
- Dain, A. and Mazon, P., *Sophocle*, I, Paris, 1967.
- Darrouzès, J., *Le registre synodal du patriarcat byzantin au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1971.
- Dawe, R. D., *The Collation and Investigation of Manuscripts of Aeschylus*, Cambridge, 1964.
- , *Studies on the Text of Sophocles*, Leiden, 1973.
- Demetrakopoulos, A., *Ἱστορία τοῦ σχίσματος τῆς Λατινικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου Ἑλληνικῆς*, Leipzig, 1867.
- Devreesse, R., *Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits, Catalogue des Manuscrits Grecs*, II, *Le fonds Coislin*, Paris, 1945.
- , *Codices Vaticani Graeci*, II: *Codices 330-603* and III: *Codices 604-866*, Biblioteca Vaticana, Vatican, 1937 and 1940.
- , *Les manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale* (Studi e Testi, 183), Vatican, 1955.
- Diels, H., *Zur Textgeschichte der aristotelischen Physik*, *Abh. Akad. Wiss. Berlin, phil.*



- hist. Kl.* 1892, 1.
- Diller, A., 'Byzantine Quadrivium', *Isis* 26 (1945-46), 132.
- , 'Codices Planudei', *BZ* 37 (1937), 296-301.
- , 'Demetrius Pepagomenus', *B* 48 (1978), 35-42.
- , 'Lists of provinces in Ptolemy's Geography', *Classical Philology* 34 (1939), 228-38.
- , 'Notes on Greek Codices of the Tenth Century', *TAPA* 78 (1947), 184-85.
- , 'Petrarch's Greek codex of Plato', *Classical Philology* 59 (1964), 270-72.
- , 'Photius' Bibliotheca in Byzantine Literature', *DOP* 16 (1962), 389-96, with two plates after p. 396.
- , 'The Oldest Manuscripts of Ptolemaic Maps', *TAPA* 71 (1940), 62-67.
- , *The textual Tradition of Strabo's Geography; with appendix: The Manuscripts of Eustathius Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes*, Amsterdam, 1975.
- , *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers*, Lancaster, 1952.
- , 'The Vatopedi Manuscript of Ptolemy and Strabo', *American Journal of Philology* 58 (1937), 174-84.
- Diringer, D., *The hand-produced Book*. London, 1953.
- , *The Illuminated Book. its history and production*, London, 1958.
- Dölger, F., 'Chronologisches und prosopographisches zur byzantinischen Geschichte des 13. Jh.', *BZ* 27 (1927), 291-320.
- , 'Die Kaiserurkunden des Johannes-Theologos-Kloster auf Patmos', *BZ* 28 (1928), 332-71.
- , 'Möchtum und Wissenschaft', *Παρασπορά*, Ettal, 1961, pp. 46-53.
- , *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, Part III: 1204-1282; Part IV: 1282-1341, Munich-Berlin, 1932, 1960.
- , 'Zur Bedeutung von φιλόσοφος und φιλοσοφία in byzantinischer Zeit', *Byzanz und die europäische Stadtentwelt*, Ettal, 1953, pp. 197-208.
- Dondaine, A., 'Contra Graecos. Premiers écrits polémiques des Dominicains en Orient', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 21 (1951), 320-445.
- Dräseke, J., 'Zum Philosophen Joseph', *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 42 (1899), 612-620.
- Dvornik, E., 'Photius et la réorganisation de l'académie patriarcale', *AB* 68 (1950), 108-25.
- Eleopoulos, N. X., *Ἡ βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ βιβλιογραφικὸν ἐργαστήριον τῆς μονῆς τῶν Στουδίου*, Athens, 1967.
- Eustratiades, S., *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ μονῇ Βατοπεδίου ἀποκειμένων κωδίκων*, Paris, 1924.
- , 'Ἡ μονὴ τῆς Χώρας. Πόθεν ἔλαβε τὸ ὄνομα', *Ῥωμανὸς ὁ Μελωδὸς* 1 (1932-33), 102-105.
- Fassoulakis, S., *The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral(l)es*, Athens, 1973.
- Fatouros, G., 'Textkritische Beobachtungen zu den Briefen des Gregorios Kyprios', *SBN*, N.S. 12-13 (1975-76), 109-116.

- Fenster, E., *Laudes Constantinopolitanae*, Munich, 1968.
- Fisher, E. A., 'Planudes and the 'New' Literature of the Thirteenth Century', *Second Annual Byzantine Studies Conference*, Madison, University of Wisconsin, 1976, pp. 37-39.
- Folieri, E., *Codices Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae selecti, temporum locorumque ordine dicesti commentariis et transcriptionibus instructi* (Exempla Scripturarum, 4), Vatican, 1969.
- Förster, R., *De antiquitatibus et libris manuscriptis Constantinopolitanis*, Rostock, 1877.
- Foss, C., *Byzantine Cities of Western Asia Minor*, Ph.D. Diss., University of Harvard, 1972.
- Franchi de' Cavalieri, P., *Codices graeci Chisiani et Borgiani, Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*. Rome, 1927.
- Fuchs, F., *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* (Byzantinisches Archiv, 8), Leipzig-Berlin, 1926.
- Gallavotti, C., 'L' Edizione Theocritea di Moscopoulo', *Rivista di filologiae d'istruzione classica*, N.S. 12 (1934), 349-369.
- , 'Planudea', *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione della Edizione Nazionale dei classici Greci e Latini*, N.S. fasc. VII (1959), 25-50.
- , 'Planudea II', *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione della Edizione Nazionale dei classici Greci e Latini*, N.S. fasc. VIII (1960), 11-23.
- Gallay, P., 'Liste des MSS. des lettres de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze', *REG* 57 (1944), 106-124.
- Gamillscheg, E. and Harlfinger, D., 'Specimen eines Repertoriums der griechischen Kopisten', *JOB* 27 (1978), 293-322.
- Gamillscheg, E., 'Zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung byzantinischer Schulbücher', *JOB* 26 (1977), 211-230.
- Gardner, A., *The Laskarids of Nicaea. The Story of an Empire in Exile*, London, 1912.
- Gardthausen, V., *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Sinaiticorum*, Oxonii, 1886.
- Garzya, A., 'Observations sur "Autobiographie" de Grégoire de Chypre', *Πρακτικά τοῦ Πρώτου Διεθνoῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, vol. II, Nicosia, 1972, pp. 33-36.
- , 'Sur l' 'autobiographie' de Grégoire de Chypre', *La parole et l' idée* 10 (1968), 308-11.
- , 'Sur la production philologique au début du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle à Byzance', *Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> congrès intern. des études byz.*, Bucharest, 6-12 Sept. 1971, II, Bucharest, 1975, pp. 99-102.
- , 'Topik und Tendenz in der byzantinischen Literatur', *Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften phil.-hist. Klasse* 113 (1976), 301-319.
- Geanakoplos, D. J., *Emperor Michael Paleologus and the West (1258-1282)*, Cambridge, Mass., 1959.
- , *Greek Scholars in Venice. Studies in the dissemination of Greek learning from*

- Byzantium to Western Europe*, Cambridge, Mass., 1962.
- Gedeon, M. I., *Παιδεία καὶ Πτωχεία κατὰ τοὺς τελευταίους αἰῶνας*, Constantinople, 1893.
- , 'Πατριαρχικὴ Ἀκαδημία Κωνσταντινουπόλεως', *Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος* 25 (1895), 56-61.
- Gentz G. and Winkelmann, F., *Die Kirchengeschichte des Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos und ihre Quellen*, Berlin, 1966.
- Giannelli, C., *Codices Vaticani Graeci, Codices 1684-1744*, Vatican city, 1961.
- Gigante, M., 'La cultura latina a Bisanzio nel secolo XIII', *La Parola del Passato* 82 (1962), 32-51.
- , 'Massimo Planude interprete di Cicerone. Contributo alla critica del testo del Somnium Scipionis', *Atti I Congr. Inter. Studi Ciceroniani*, Rome, 1961, p. 495 ff.
- , 'Significato della Cultura Latina a Bisanzio', *Rapport, XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, Athens, 1976.
- Gill, J., 'John Beccus, Patriarch of Constantinople', *Byz.* 7 (1975), 251-266.
- Gottschalk, H. B., 'The De Coloribus and its Author', *Hermes* 92 (1964), 59-85.
- Gouillard, J., 'La Religion des philosophes', *TM* 6 (1976), 306-315.
- Gregory, C. R., *Die griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, Leipzig, 1908.
- Grisuolo, R., 'Note sull' "Enciclopedia" del Filosofo Giuseppe', *B* 44 (1974), 255-81.
- Gritsopoulos, T. A., *Μονὴ Φιλοσόφου*, Athens, 1960.
- Grumel, V., 'L'authenticité de la lettre de Jean Vatatzès, empereur de Nicée, au pape Grégoire IX', *EO* 29 (1930), 452-54.
- , *La Chronologie* (Traité des études byzantines, I), Paris, 1958.
- , 'La date d'avènement du patriarche de Constantinople Niphon I<sup>er</sup>', *REB* 13 (1955), 138-139.
- , *Les registes des Actes du patriarchat byzantin: Les registes des patriarches (381-1206)*, I-III, Paris, 1932-1947.
- , 'Titulature de Métropolités Byzantins', *EB* 3 (1945), 92-114.
- Guilland, R., *Essai sur Nicéphore Grégoras. L'homme et l'oeuvre*, Paris, 1926.
- , 'Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin. Le stratopédarque et le grand stratopédarque', *BZ* 46 (1953), 63-90.
- , 'Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin: Le Logariaste, ὁ λογαριαστής, le grand Logariaste, ὁ μέγας λογαριαστής', *JOB* 18 (1969), 101-113.
- , *La politique religieuse de l'Empire byzantin de 1204 à 1341*, Paris, 1959.
- , 'Les Logothètes. Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin', *REB* 29 (1971), 5-115.
- , 'Les poésies inédite de Théodore Métochite', *B* 3 (1926), 265-302.
- , *Recherches sur les Institutions byzantines*, I-II, Berlin-Amsterdam, 1967.
- Guillou, A., *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrôme sur le mont Ménécée* (Bibliothèque byzantine publiée sous la direction de Paul Lemerle, Documents, 3), Paris, 1955.
- Halkin, F., *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3rd edition, I-III, Brussels, 1957.
- , 'Manuscripts galésiotes', *Scriptorium* 15 (1961), 221-27.

- Hannick, C. and Schmalzbauer, G., 'Die Synadenoi', *JOB* 25 (1976), 125-161.
- Harlfinger D. and Reinsch, D., 'Die Aristotelica des Paris. Gr. 1741', *Philologus* 114 (1970), 28-50.
- Harlfinger D. and Wiesner, J., 'Die griechischen Handschriften des Aristoteles und seiner Kommentatoren', *Scriptorium* 18 (1964), 238-257.
- Harlfinger, D. and J., *Wasserzeichen aus griechischen Handschriften*, 2 vols. Berlin, 1974, 1980.
- Harlfinger, D., *Die Textgeschichte der pseudo-aristotelischen Schrift Περὶ Ἀτόμων γραμμῶν*, Amsterdam, 1971.
- , *Specimina griechischer Kopisten der Renaissance*, I: Griechen des 15. Jahrhunderts, Berlin, 1974.
- Heath, T., *A History of Greek Mathematics*, Oxford, 1921.
- Heiberg, J. L., 'Den graeske Mathematiks Overleveringshistorie', *Bull. de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et des Lettres de Danemark*, Copenhagen, 1896, p. 83ff.
- Heisenberg, A., 'Aus der Geschichte und Literatur der Palaiologenzeit', *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-philol. und hist. Klasse*, 1920, Abh. 10, Munich, 1920.
- Hemmerdinger, B., *Essai sur l'histoire du texte de Thucydide*, Paris, 1955.
- , 'La culture grecque classique du VII<sup>e</sup> au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle', *B* 34 (1964), 125-33.
- Hofmann, G., 'Patriarch Johann Bekkos und die lateinische Kultur', *OCP* 11 (1945), 141-64.
- Hörandner, W., 'Prodromos-Reminiszenzen bei Dichtern der nikänischen Zeit', *BF* 4 (1972), 88-104.
- Hunger, H., *Das Patriarchatsregister von Konstantinopel als Spiegel byzantinischer Verhältnisse im 14. Jahrhundert* (Öst. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Klasse, Anzeiger, 115, 1978, 7), Verlag d. Öst. Ak. d. Wiss., Vienna, 1978.
- , *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, Bd. I: Philosophie-Rhetoric-Epistolographie-Geschichtsschreibung-Geographie. Bd. II: Philologie-Profandichtung-Musik-Mathematik und Astronomie-Naturwissenschaften-Medizin-Kriegswissenschaft-Rechtswissenschaft (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, XII, 5, 2), Munich, 1978.
- , *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, I, Vienna, 1961.
- , 'On the Imitation (μίμησις) of Antiquity in Byzantine Literature', *DOP* 23-24 (1969-70), 17-38 (Repr. Variorum: London, 1973).
- , 'Theodoros Metochites als Vorläufer des Humanismus in Byzanz', *BZ* 45 (1952), 4-19 (Repr. Variorum: London, 1973).
- , 'Von Wissenschaft und Kunst der frühen Palaiologenzeit', *JOBG* 8 (1959), 123-55 (Repr. Variorum: London, 1973).
- , 'Zeugnisse agonaler Rhetoric in der byzantinischen Literatur', *JOB* 22 (1973), 23-36.
- Hunger, H. and Kresten, O., *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen*

- Nationalbibliothek*, Teil 3/1: *Codices theologici 1-100*, Vienna, 1976.
- Hussey, J. M., *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire, 867-1185*, London, 1937.
- Ioannidou, A.-B., 'Η Αναγέννησις τῶν Γραμμάτων κατὰ τὸν δωδέκατον αἰῶνα εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ ὁ Ὅμηρος', Athens, 1972.
- Ippolito, Patrizia, 'Σχεδάρια bizantini nei manoscritti della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli', *Rendic. Accad. Archeol. Lett. e Belle Arti di Napoli*, N.S. 52 (1977), 277-288.
- Iriarte, J., *Regiae Bibliothecae Matritensis Codices manuscripti Graeci*, Madrid, 1769.
- Irigoin, J., 'Centres de Copie et Bibliothèques', in *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium "1971", ed. Dumbarton Oaks, 1975, pp. 17-27.
- , *Histoire du texte de Pindare*. Paris, 1952.
- , 'Les débuts de l'emploi du papier à Byzance', *BZ* 46 (1953), 314-19.
- , 'Les conditions matérielles de la production du livre à Byzance de 1071 à 1261', *XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Rapports et Co-rapports*, II, 3, Athens, 1976.
- , 'Les premiers manuscrits grecs écrits sur papier et le problème du bombycin', *Scriptorium* 4 (1950), 194-204.
- , 'Pour une étude des centres de copie byzantins', *Scriptorium* 12 (1958), 208-227.
- Irmscher, J., 'Nikāa als Mittelpunkt des griechischen Patriotismus', *BF* 4 (1972), 114-37.
- , 'Nikāa als Zentrum des griechischen Patriotismus', *RHSE* 8 (1970), 33-47.
- Jaeger, W., *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia*, Cambridge, Mass., 1962.
- Janin, R., *Constantinople byzantine: Développement urbain et répertoire topographique* (Archives de l'Orient Chrétien, 4), 2nd. ed., Paris, 1964.
- , *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, I: *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, III: *Les églises et les monastères*, 2nd edition, Paris, 1969.
- , *Les Églises et les Monastères des grands Centres Byzantins (Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galésios, Trébizonde, Athènes, Thessalonique)* (Géographie Ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin), Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, Paris, 1975.
- Jeffreys, E. M., 'Constantine Hermoniakos and Byzantine Education', *ΔΩΔΩΝΗ* 4 (1975), 79-109.
- Jenkins, R., 'The Hellenistic origins of Byzantine literature', *DOP* 17 (1963), 39-52.
- Jenkins R. and Mango, C., 'A synodicon of Antioch and Lacedaemonia', *DOP* 15 (1961), 225-42.
- Kádár, Z., *Survivals of Greek Zoological Illuminations in Byzantine Manuscripts* (Akadémiai Kiadó), Budapest, 1978.
- Kakoulidou, E., 'Η βιβλιοθήκη τῆς μονῆς Προδρόμου Πέτρας στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη', *Hellenika* 21 (1968), 3-39.
- Karagiannopoulos, I., 'Παλαιογραφία, κωδικολογία καὶ διπλωματική εἰς τὰ πλαίσια τῶν βυζαντινολογικῶν ἐρευνῶν τῶν ἐτῶν 1966-1971', *Byz.* 4 (1972), 156-176.
- Karapiperis, M., 'Νικήφορος ὁ Βλεμμίδης ὡς Παιδαγωγὸς καὶ Δάσκαλος', *Nea*

- Sion* 15 (1920), 533-49; 16 (1921), 5-21, 105-21, 145-61, 231-42.
- Kassel, R., *Der Text der Aristotelischen Rhetoric* (Peripatoi, 3), Berlin-New York, 1971.
- Katičić, R., 'Ἀννα Κομνηνὴ καὶ Ὀμηρος', *EEBS* 27 (1957), 213-223.
- Keaney, J. J., 'Moschopoulos and Harpocration', *TAPA* 100 (1969), 201-207.
- , 'Moschopulea', *BZ* 64 (1971), 303-321.
- , 'Notes on Moschopoulos and Aristophanes-Scholia', *Mnemosyne*, Series IV, 25 (1972), 123-28.
- Papadopoulos-Kerameus, A., 'Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, ἥτοι κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου ἀποστολικοῦ τε καὶ καθολικοῦ ὀρθοδόξου Πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης ἀποκειμένων ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων', 5 vols., St. Petersburg, 1891-1915.
- Kleinlogel, A., *Geschichte des Thukydidestextes im Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1965.
- Koikylides, K. M., *Κατάλοιπα χειρογράφων Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς βιβλιοθήκης*, Jerusalem, 1899.
- Komines, A., *Πίνακες Χρονολογημένων Πατριαρχικῶν Κωδίκων*, Athens, 1968.
- , *Προβλήματα βυζαντινῆς ποιήσεως καὶ προσωπογραφίας*, Athens, 1976.
- Konstantopoulos, K., 'Τὸ μολυβδόβουλλον τοῦ μητροπολίτου Θεσσαλονίκης Ἰακώβου', *EEBS* 12 (1936), 449-53.
- Korff, C. E., 'Thomas Magister and the text of Sophocles' *Antigone*', *TAPA* 106 (1976), 241-266.
- Koster W. J. W. et Holwerda, D., 'De Eustathio, Tzetza, Moschopulo, Planude Aristophanis Commentatoribus', *Mnemosyne*, Ser. IV, 7 (1954), 136-56.
- Kotsakes, D. D., 'Ἡ ἀστρονομία καὶ ἡ ἀστρολογία κατὰ τοὺς Βυζαντινοὺς χρόνους', *EEBS* 24 (1954), 204-229.
- Kougeas, S., 'Analecta Planudea', *BZ* 18 (1909), 106-46.
- Koukoules, Ph., *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός*, I-VI and supplts. in 8 vols., Athens, 1947-57.
- Kourouses, S. I., 'Ἡ πρώτη ἡλικία καὶ ἡ πρώϊμος σταδιοδρομία τοῦ πρωτεκδίκου καὶ εἴτα σακελίου τῆς μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας Γεωργίου Γαλησιώτου (1278/80-1357/;)', *Ἀθηνᾶ* 75 (1974-75), 335-74.
- , *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς εἴτα Ματθαῖος Μητροπολίτης Ἐφέσου (1271/2-1355/60)*. A: *Τὰ βιογραφικὰ* (Ἀθηνᾶ, Σειρὰ διατριβῶν καὶ μελετημάτων, 12), Athens, 1972.
- , 'Νέος κῶδιξ τοῦ «Βασιλικοῦ» τοῦ Μαξίμου Πλανοῦδῃ', *Ἀθηνᾶ* 83-84 (1972-73), 426-34.
- , 'Ὁ λόγιος οἰκουμενικὸς Πατριάρχης Ἰωάννης ΙΓ' ὁ Γλυκύς', *EEBS* 41 (1974), 297-405.
- , 'Ὁ μέγας διοικητὴς Θεόδωρος ὁ Καβάσιλας καὶ ἡ εἰς Ἀνδρόνικον Β' († 1332) μονωδία αὐτοῦ', *EEBS* 42 (1975-76), 408-428.
- Kristos, G. L., 'The Function and Evolution of Byzantine Rhetoric', *Viator* 1 (1970), 55-73.
- Kroll, W., 'Rhetorik', *RE*, Suppl. Band VII, cols. 1035-1138.

- Krumbacher, K., *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur (527-1453)*, 2nd edition, Munich, 1897.
- Kustas, G. L., *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric* (Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων, 17), Thessalonike, 1973.
- Kyriakis, M., 'Student Life in Eleventh Century Constantinople', *Byz.* 7 (1975), 375-88.
- , 'The University: Origin and early Phases in Constantinople', *B* 41 (1971), 161-182.
- Kyrris, C. P., *Urban and Rural Conditions in the Byzantine Empire from the End of the Thirteenth to the Middle of the Fourteenth Century*, M.A. thesis, University of London, 1961.
- La Paléographie Grecque et Byzantine*, (Paris, 21-25 October 1974) (Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), Paris, 1977.
- Lackner, W., 'Zum Lehrbuch der Physik des Nikephoros Blemmydes', *BF* 4 (1972), 157-69.
- Laiou, A. E., *Constantinople and the Latins. The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II (1282-1328)*, Cambridge, Mass., 1972.
- , 'Some Observations on Alexios Philathropenos and Maximos Planoudes', *BMGS* 4 (1978), 89-99.
- Lamberz, E. and Litsas, E. K., *Κατάλογος Χειρογράφων τῆς Βατοπεδινῆς Σκήτης Ἀγίου Δημητρίου* (Πατριαρχικὸν Ἰδρυμα Πατερικῶν Μελετῶν, Κατάλογοι Ἑλληνικῶν Χειρογράφων Ἀγίου Ὁρους, 1), Thessalonike, 1978.
- Lampros, Sp. P., 'Αἱ βιβλιοθήκαι Ἰωάννου Μαρμαρᾶ καὶ Ἰωάννου Δοχειανοῦ. Καὶ ἀνώνυμος ἀναγραφή βιβλίων', *NH* 1 (1904), 295-312.
- , *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, I-II, Cambridge, 1895-1900.
- , 'Das Testament des Neilos Damilas', *BZ* 4 (1895), 585-87.
- , 'Ἐμμανουὴλ Ἐσκαμματισμένος', *NH* 12 (1915), 371.
- , 'Ἐπιγράμματα Θωμᾶ Γοριανίτου', *NH* 12 (1915), 435-438.
- , 'Λακεδαιμόνιοι βιβλιογράφοι καὶ κτήτορες κωδίκων κατὰ τοὺς μέσους αἰῶνας καὶ ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας', *NH* 4 (1907), 152-187, 303-357, 492-94.
- , 'Ἄέων Ἐσκαμματισμένος', *NH* 11 (1914), 494.
- , 'Μιχαὴλ Λευλλοῦδης ὁ Ἐφέσιος καὶ ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων ἄλωσις τῆς Ἐφέσου', *NH* 1 (1904), 209-212.
- Lampsides, O., 'Wunderbare Rettung des Theodoros Laskaris durch den Erzengel Michael', *JOB* 26 (1977), 125-127.
- Lannoy, L. de, 'Une édition de l'Héroikos de Philostrate par Maxime Planude', *Rhein. Museum f. Philol.* 121 (1978), 132-160.
- Laourdas, B., *Ἡ κλασσικὴ φιλολογία εἰς τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην κατὰ τὸν δέκατον τέταρτον αἰῶνα*, Thessalonike, 1960.
- Laurent, V., 'La chronologie des patriarches de Constantinople au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (1208-1309)', *REB* 27 (1969), 129-150.
- , 'La correspondance de Démétrius Cydonès', *EO* 30 (1931), 339-54.

- , 'La succession épiscopale de la métropole de Thessalonique dans la première moitié du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *BZ* 56 (1963), 284-296.
- , 'La Vie de Jean, Métropolitte d'Héraclée du Pont', *Ἀρχαῖον Πόντου* 6 (1934), 1-67.
- , 'Le métropolitte de Pergame Arsène, mélode et polémiste antilatin', *REB* 15 (1957), 123-30.
- , 'Le quadrivium et la formation intellectuelle sous les Paléologues', Preface to P. Tannery, *Quadrivium de Georges Pachymère* (Studi e Testi, 94), Vatican, 1940.
- , 'Le rapport de Georges le Métochite apocrisiaire de Michel VIII auprès du pape Grégoire X (1275/76)', *RHSE* 23 (1946), 233-247.
- , 'Légendes sigillographiques et familles byzantines', *EO* 31 (1932), 327-49.
- , *Les Regestes des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople*, I, fasc. 4: *Les Regestes de 1208 à 1309* (Le Patriarcat Byzantin. Recherches de diplomatique d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques publiées par l'Institut d'Études Byzantines, Paris, Série 1), Paris, 1971.
- , 'Notes de chronologie et d'histoire byzantine de la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *REB* 27 (1969), 209-228.
- , 'Un polémiste grec de la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. La vie et les oeuvres de Georges Moschabar', *EO* 28 (1929), 129-158.
- , 'Un théologien unioniste de la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, le métropolitte d'Andrinople Théoctiste', *REB* 11 (1953), 187-196.
- Lemerle, P., *Cinq études sur le XI<sup>e</sup> siècle byzantin*, Paris, 1977.
- , 'Élèves et professeurs à Constantinople au X<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*: Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1969 (Novembre-Décembre).
- , *Le premier humanisme byzantin. Notes et remarques sur l'enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au X<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Bibliothèque Byzantine, études 6), Paris, 1971.
- Libadaras, N. A., *Ἱστορία τῆς παραδόσεως τοῦ κειμένου τοῦ 'Ἡσιόδου* ('Αθηνᾶ, Σειρὰ διατριβῶν καὶ μελετημάτων, 1), Athens, 1963.
- Lindstam, S., 'Die Philostratos Kommentare und die Moschopoulos-Sylloga', *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* 31 (1925), 173-84.
- , 'Senbysantinsk epimerismsamlingar och ordböcker', *Eranos* 19 (1919-20), 57-92.
- Lobel E., *The Greek Manuscripts of Aristotle's Poetics*, Oxford, 1933.
- Loenertz, R.-J., 'Théodore Métochite et son père', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 23 (1953), 184-94.
- Longo, O., 'Sulla tradizione del De Caelo di Aristotele', *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Ser. 8, vol. 15 (1961), 341-60.
- Lorimer, W. L., *The text tradition of Pseudo-Aristotle 'De Mundo'* (St. Andrews Univ.



- Publ., 18), Oxford, 1924.
- Macrides, R., A Translation and Historical Commentary of George Akropolites' History, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1978.
- Magoulas, H. J., 'Education and learning in the sixth and seventh centuries as viewed in the lives of saints', *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 21, 2 (1976), 114-124.
- Manaphes, K. A., *Αἱ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει βιβλιοθήκαι, Αὐτοκρατορικαὶ καὶ Πατριαρχικαὶ, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς χειρογράφων μέχρι τῆς ἀλώσεως (1453)* ('Αθηνᾶ, Σειρὰ διατριβῶν καὶ μελετημάτων, 14), Athens, 1972.
- Mango, C., 'The Availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire, A. D. 750-850', *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*, Dumbarton Oaks, 1975, pp. 29-45.
- Manousakas, M. I., 'Ἡ χρονολογία τῆς κτιτορικῆς ἐπιγραφῆς τοῦ Ἀγίου Δημητρίου τοῦ Μυστρᾶ', *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*, Περ. Δ', 1 (1959), 72-79 (with two plates).
- Martin, J., *Histoire du texte des phénomènes d'Aratos*, Paris, 1956.
- Martini A. and Bassi, D., *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, 2 vols., Milan, 1906.
- Mass, P., 'Gregorios Kyprios und Libanios', *BNJ* 1 (1920), 48-49 (Repr. P. Mass, *Kleine Schriften*, Munich, 1973, pp. 486-87).
- Meliarakes, A., *Ἱστορία τοῦ Βασιλείου τῆς Νικαίας καὶ τοῦ Δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἡπείρου (1204-1261)*, Athens, 1898.
- Mercati, G., *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota et altri oppunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV* (Studi e Testi, 56), Vatican city, 1931.
- , 'Origine Antiochena di due codici Greci del secolo XI', *AB* 68 (1950), 210-222.
- Mercati, I. et Franchi de' Cavalieri, P., *Codices Vaticani Graeci, I: Cod. 1-329*, Rome, 1923.
- Meyendorff, J., *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Patristica Sorbonensia, 3), Paris, 1959.
- , 'Spiritual Trends in Byzantium in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries', *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 4, Princeton, 1975, pp. 95-106.
- Meyier, K. A. de, 'Scribes grecs de la Renaissance. Additions et corrections aux répertoires de Vogel-Gardthausen, de Patrinélis et de Canart', *Scriptorium* 18 (1964), 258-266.
- Miller, E., *Catalogue des Manuscrits Grecs de la bibliothèque de l'Escurial*, Paris, 1848 (Repr. Amsterdam, 1966).
- Mioni, E., 'L'antigrafo dell' "Appendix Barberino-Vaticana" all' Antologia Planudea', *Univ. di Padova Istit. di studi biz. e neogreci, Miscellanea I* (Padova, 1978), 69-79.
- Moffat, A. M., *School-teachers in the early Byzantine Empire (330-610)*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1972.
- , 'Science Teachers in the Early Byzantine Empire', *Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> congrès int. des ét. byz.*, Bucharest, 6-12 Sept. 1971, III, Bucharest, 1976, pp. 659-661.
- Monfasani, J., *George of Trebizond. A Biography and a Study of his Rhetoric and Logic*,

- Leiden, 1976.
- Moore, J. M., *The Manuscript Tradition of Polybius*, Cambridge, 1965.
- Morau, P. et al., *Aristoteles Graecus: die griechischen Manuskripte des Aristoteles* (Peripatoi, Bd., 8), Berlin-New York, 1976.
- Morau, P., *Catalogue des Manuscrits Grecs (Fonds des Syllogos)* (Bibliothèque de la Société Turque d' Histoire), Ankara, 1964.
- Morocho, G., 'Consideraciones en torno a la Collectio Vocum Atticorum de Manuel Moscopulo', *Emerita* 45 (1977), 153-169.
- Moschonas, Th., *Κατάλογοι της Πατριαρχικής Βιβλιοθήκης*. I, *Χειρόγραφα*, Alexandria, 1945 (Repr. 1965).
- Mystakides, B. A., 'Βυζαντιακαὶ μελέται. Ἡ καθόλου παιδείσεις, κατωτέρα καὶ ἀνωτέρα. Σχολαί, Πανεπιστήμια, Μαθήματα, Διδάσκαλοι, Νόμοι κ.λ.π.', *Νέος Ποιμὴν* 2 (1920), 173-84, 423-44, 545-60, 601-608, 673-88.
- , 'Νικηφόρος Βλεμμύδης. Βιογραφία', *ΕΑ* 17 (1897), 149.
- , 'Σχολεῖα μετὰ τὴν Ἀλωσιν κατὰ κώδικας τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου', *EEBS* 13 (1937), 143-54.
- Mystakides, M. B., 'Γεώργιος Παχυμέρης καὶ Μ. Κρούσιος', in *Ἐναίσιμα* (offered to Chrysostomos Papadopoulos), Athens, 1931, pp. 214-232.
- Nadeau R., 'The Progymnasmata of Aphthonius in translation', *Speech Monographs* 19 (1952), 264-85.
- Nicol, D. M., 'Constantine Akropolites. A prosopographical note', *DOP* 19 (1965), 249-56.
- , 'The Byzantine Church and Hellenic Learning in the Fourteenth Century', *Studies in Church History*, V, ed. G. J. Cuming, Leiden, 1969, pp. 23-57 (Repr. Variorum: London, 1972).
- , *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100-1460. A Genealogical and Prosopographical Study* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, XI), Washington, D.C., 1968.
- , 'The Byzantine family of Dermokaites circa 940-1453', *BS* 35 (1974), 1-11.
- , 'The Byzantine reaction to the Second Council of Lyons, 1274', *Studies in Church History*, VII (Cambridge, 1971), 113-146 (Repr. Variorum: London, 1972).
- , *The Despotate of Epiros*, Oxford, 1957.
- , 'The Fourth Crusade and the Greek and Latin Empires, 1204-1261', *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV, part I, Cambridge, 1966, pp. 275-330 (Repr. Variorum: London, 1972).
- , 'The Greeks and the Union of the Churches: The Preliminaries to the Second Council of Lyons, 1261-1274', *Medieval Studies presented to A. Gwynn et al.* Dublin, 1961, pp. 454-80 (Repr. Variorum: London, 1972).
- , *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453*, London, 1972.
- , 'Refugees, mixed population and local patriotism in Epiros and Western

- Macedonia after the Fourth Crusade', *Rapport, XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d' Études Byzantines*, Athens, 1976.
- Nikolaou, T., 'Grundlegende Gedanken über die byzantinische Philosophie', *Byz.* 9 (1977), 167-86.
- Oehler, K., 'Aristotle in Byzantium', *GRBS* 5 (1964), 133-146.
- Oikonomides, N., 'La décomposition de l' Empire byzantin à la veille de 1204 et les origines de l' Empire de Nicée: à propos de la Partitio Romaniae', *XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d' Études Byzantines, Rapports et Co-rapports*, Athens, 1976.
- , 'Σημείωμα περὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν Γρηγορίου τοῦ Χιονιάδου', *Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου* 20 (1955), 40-45.
- Omont, H., *Fac-similés des manuscrits grecs datés de la Bibliothèque Nationale du IX<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1891.
- , *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs et latins donnés à Saint-Marc de Venise par le Cardinal Bessarion en 1468*, Paris, 1894.
- Orlandos, A., 'Ἡ μητρόπολις τῶν Σερρών κατὰ τὴν ἔκφρασιν τοῦ Πεδιασίμου', *EEBS* 19 (1949), 259-71.
- Ostrogorsky, G., *History of the Byzantine State* (translated by J. Hussey), 2nd edition, Oxford, 1968.
- Padover, S. K., 'Byzantine libraries', in J. W. Thompson, *The Medieval library*, University of Chicago, 1939, pp. 310-329 (Repr. by Blanche B. Boyer, 1965).
- Papadakis, A., 'Gregory II of Cyprus and Late Thirteenth Century Byzantine Theology', *First Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstract of Papers*, Cleveland, 24-25 Oct., 1975, p. 4.
- , 'Gregory II of Cyprus and an unpublished report to the synod', *GRBS* 16 (1975), 227-239.
- , 'Gregory II of Cyprus and Mark's report again', *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 21 (1976), 147-157.
- , 'The fate of Gregory II and the Tomus of 1285: Controversy and Consensus', *Fifth Annual Byzantine Conference, Dumbarton Oaks, Oct. 26-28 1979, Abstracts of Papers*, Washington, D.C., 1979, pp. 19-20.
- , 'Late Thirteenth century theology and Gregory II of Cyprus', *The Byzantine Fellowship Lectures*, 2, Brookline, 1975, pp. 57-72.
- Papadopoulos, A. Th., *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen (1259-1453)*, Munich, 1938.
- Papadopoulos, Chr., *Ἱστορικαὶ Μελέται. Αἱ πρῶται σχολαὶ τοῦ Βυζαντίου*, Jerusalem, 1906.
- , 'Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀθανάσιος Β' (1276-1316)', *EEBS* 6 (1929), 3-13.
- Papadopoulos, I., 'Ὁ ἐν Νικαίᾳ τῆς Βιθυνίας ναὸς τοῦ Ἀγίου Τρύφωνος', *EEBS* 22 (1952), 110-13.
- Papathomopoulos, M., 'À propos de la métaphrase Planudéenne des Héroïdes d'Ovide', (*Φίλτρα, Τιμητικὸς τόμος Σ. Γ. Καφωμένου*), Thessalonike, 1975, pp. 107-18.
- Paranikas, M. K., 'Περὶ τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Πατριαρχικῆς Σχολῆς (1261-

- 1691), 'Ο ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος 25 (1895), 49-56.
- Paschos, P. B., 'Ο Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρης καὶ τὸ ὑμνογραφικὸν ἔργον του ('Ἰδρυμα Μελετῶν Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἵμου, 183), Thessalonike, 1978.
- Patrinelis, C. G., 'Ἑλληνες κωδικογράφοι τῶν χρόνων τῆς Ἀναγεννήσεως', *Epeteris Mesaionikou Archeiou* 8-9 (Athens, 1958-59), 63-124.
- Perry, B. E., *Studies in the Text History of the Life and Fables of Aesop*, Lancaster, 1936.
- Pertusi, A., '«Ἐρωτήματα». Per la storia e la fonti delle prime grammatiche greche a stampa', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 5 (1962), 321-51.
- , 'La fortuna di Boezio a Bisanzio', *Annuaire Inst. de Philol. et d' Hist. Or. et Slav.* II (1951), 301-322 (Παγκάρπεια, Mélanges H. Grégoire, III).
- , 'La tradizione manoscritta degli scolii alle "Opere e i Giorni" e le note inedite attribuite a Massimo Planude', *Atti VIII Congr. Intern. Studi Bizantini, Palermo 3-10 April 1951*, I (= *SBN* 7, 1953), 177-182.
- Petit, L., 'Le Synodicon de Thessalonique', *EO* 18 (1918), 236-54.
- Peyron, Amadeus, *Notitia librorum qui donante Ab. Thoma Valperga-Calusio u. cl. illati sunt in regi Taurinensis Athenaei bibliothecam*, Leipzig, 1820.
- Pezopoulos, E. A., 'Σύμμεικτα κριτικά καὶ ἐρμηνευτικά', *EEBS* 6 (1929), 340-354.
- Pignani, A., 'Parafrasi o metafrasi (a proposito delle Statuta Regia di Niceforo Blemmida)', *Atti dell' Accademia Pontaniana*, N.S. 24 (1976), 1-7.
- Pingree, D., 'Gregory Chionides and Palaeologan Astronomy', *DOP* 18 (1964), 133-60.
- Platthy, J., *Sources on the Earliest Greek libraries with the testimonia*, Amsterdam, 1968.
- Podskalsky, G., 'Nikolaos Kabasilas: Meister und Lehrer des Gebetes', *Ostkirchliche Studien* 20 (1971), 17-42.
- , *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz. Der Streit um die theologische Methodik in der späbyzantinischen Geistesgeschichte (14./15. Jh.)*, seine systematischen Grundlagen und seine historische Entwicklung (Byzantinisches Archiv, 15), Munich, 1977.
- Polaschek, E., 'Klaudios Ptolemaios', *RE*, Supplemenband X, 1965.
- Polemis, D. I., *The Doukai. A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography*, London, 1968.
- Polites, L., 'Ἄγνωστο ἔργο τοῦ Νικηφόρου Καλλίστου Ξανθοπούλου: Ἐξήγηση στὸν Ἰωάννη τῆς Κλίμακος', *Κληρονομία* 3 (1971), 69-84.
- , 'Eine Schreiberschule im Kloster τῶν Ὁδηγῶν', *BZ* 51 (1958), 17-36, 261-87, plates 1-3, 13-18.
- , 'Περὶ βιβλιογράφων καὶ βιβλιογραφικῶν ἐργαστηρίων', *BNJ* 14 (1937-38), 28-30.
- , 'Quelques centres de copie monastiques du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle', *La Paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Paris, 1977, 291-302.
- , 'Σημείωμα περὶ τοῦ βιβλιογράφου Ἰωάννου Δούκα τοῦ Νεοκαισαρείτου', *Εἰς μνήμην Σπ. Λάμπρου*, Athens, 1935, pp. 587-95.
- , 'Τὰ χειρόγραφα δύο μοναστηρίων τῆς Ξάνθης (Παναγίας Ἀρχαγγελιώτισσας καὶ Παναγίας Καλαμοῦς)', *Θρακικὰ Χρονικά* 33 (1977), 15-18.

- Promponas, J. K., 'Διόρθωσις εἰς Μανουήλ 'Ολόβωλον', *BNJ* 21 (1971-76), 232.
- Raasted, J., *Intonation Formulas and Modal Signatures in Byzantine Musical Manuscripts* (Musicae Byzantinae, Subsidia, vol. VII), Copenhagen, 1966.
- Rademacher, L., 'Hermogenes, Rhetor aus Tarsos', *RE* VIII, cols. 865-877.
- Regemorter, B. van, 'La reliure byzantine', *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 36 (1967), 99-142 (plates 1-20).
- , 'La reliure des manuscrits grecs', *Scriptorium* 8 (1954), 3-22 (plates 10-13).
- Revilla, P. A., *Catálogo de los Códices Griegos de la Biblioteca de El Escorial*, vol. I, Madrid, 1936.
- Reynolds L. D. and Wilson, N. G., *Scribes and Scholars. A guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 2nd edition, Oxford, 1974.
- Richard, M., *Inventaire des Manuscrits Grecs du British Museum*, Paris, 1952.
- Richter, R. H., 'Byzantinischer Kommentar zu Hermogenes', *B* 3 (1926), 153-204.
- Roberg, B., *Die Union zwischen der griechischen und der lateinischen Kirche auf dem II. Konzil von Lyon (1274)* (Bonner. hist. Forsch., Band 24), Bonn, 1964.
- Runciman, S., 'Byzantine and Hellene in the fourteenth century', *Τόμος Κωνσταντίνου 'Αρμενοπούλου*, Thessalonike, 1952.
- , *Byzantine Style and Civilization*, Harmondsworth, 1975.
- , *The last Byzantine Renaissance*, Cambridge, 1970.
- Samberger, C., *Catalogi Codicum Graecorum qui in Minoribus Bibliothecis Italicis asservantur*, vol. I, Leipzig, 1966.
- Sarton, G., *Introduction to the History of Science*, vols. I-III, Baltimore, 1927-48.
- Sathas, K. N., *Νεοελληνική Φιλολογία. Βιβλιογραφίαι τῶν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι διαλαμπάντων 'Ελλήνων, ἀπὸ τῆς καταλύσεως τῆς βυζαντινῆς αὐτοκρατορίας μέχρι τῆς ἐλληνικῆς ἐθνεγερείας (1453-1821)*, Athens, 1868.
- Schemmel, F., 'Die Schulen von Konstantinopel vom 12.-15. Jahrhundert', *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, XXV, 237, No 8 (1925), 236-39.
- Schiro, G., 'La schedografia a Bizancio nei secoli XI-XII e la scuola dei SS. XL Martiri', *Bollettino della Badia di Grottaferrata* 3 (1949), 11-29.
- Schmalzbauer, C., 'Die Tornikioi in der Palaiologenzeit. Prosopographische Untersuchung zu einer byzantinischen Familie', *JOB* 18 (1969), 115-135.
- Schmitt, W. O., 'Bemerkungen zum Codex Baroccianus 72 fol. 306'-309'. Ein Beitrag zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der von Maximus Planudes ins Griechische übersetzten "Dicta Catonis"', *Helikon* 17 (1977), 276-282.
- , 'Cato in Byzanz', *Klio* 48 (1967), 325-334.
- , 'Lateinische Literatur in Byzanz. Die Übersetzungen des Maximus Planudes und die moderne Forschung', *JOBG* 17 (1968), 127-47.
- Schöll, R., 'Zum Codex Palatinus des Lysias', *Hermes* 11 (1876), 202-18.
- Bee-Seferle, Elene, 'Ο χρόνος στέψεως τοῦ Θεοδώρου Δούκα ὡς προσδιορίζεται ἐξ ἀνεκδότων γραμμάτων Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀποκαύκου', *BNJ* 21 (1976), 272-279.
- Setton, K. M., 'The Byzantine background to the Italian Renaissance', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 100, No 1, 1956, pp. 1-76.

- , *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, vol. I: *The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Memoirs of the American Philos. Society, 114), The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1976.
- Ševčenko, I., 'A new manuscript of Nicephorus Blemmydes' "Imperial Statue" and of some Patriarchal letters', *Byzantine Studies* 5 (1978), 222-230 (with two plates as pp. 231-232).
- , *Études sur la Polémique entre Théodore Métochites et Nicéphore Choumnos. La vie intellectuelle et politique à Byzance sous les premiers Paléologues* (Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae, Subsidia, III), Brussels, 1962.
- , 'Observations sur les recueils des Discours et des Poèmes de Th. Métochite et sur la Bibliothèque de Chora à Constantinople', *Scriptorium* 5 (1951), 279-88.
- , 'On the Preface to a Praktikon by Alyates', *JOBG* 17 (1968), 65-72.
- , 'Society and intellectual life in the fourteenth century', *Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, I, Bucharest, 1974, pp. 69-92.
- , 'Some Autographs of Nicephorus Gregoras', *Zbornik Radova* 8, 2 (1964), 443-50 (Mélanges Georges Ostrogorsky, II).
- , 'The decline of Byzantium seen through the eyes of its intellectuals', *DOP* 15 (1961), 169-86.
- , 'The definition of philosophy in the 'Life of Saint Constantine'', in *For Roman Jakobson, Essays on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday*, compiled by M. Halle, The Hague, 1956, pp. 449-457.
- , 'Theodore Metochites, the Chora and the Intellectual Trends of his Time', *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 4, Princeton, 1975, pp. 19-91.
- Sigalas, A., *Ιστορία της 'Ελληνικής Γραφής*, 2nd ed. Thessalonike, 1974.
- Sopko, A. J., *Gregory of Cyprus. A Study of Church and Culture in late 13th Century Byzantium*, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1978.
- Spatharakis, I., 'Some Observations on the Ptolemy MS. Vat. Gr. 1291: Its Date and the Two Initial Miniatures', *BZ* 71 (1978), 41-49 (with 8 plates).
- , *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, Leiden, 1976.
- Speck, P., *Die kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel* (Byzantinisches Archiv, 14), Munich, 1974.
- Spetsieres, K., 'Εἰκόνες Ἑλλήνων Φιλοσόφων εἰς Ἐκκλησίας', *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν* 14 (1963-64), 386-458.
- , 'Εἰκόνες Ἑλλήνων Φιλοσόφων εἰς Ἐκκλησίας. Συμπληρωματικά Στοιχεῖα', *ibid.* 24 (1973-74), 397-436.
- Spiteris, G., 'I dialoghi di Nicolas Mesarites coi Latini: opera storica o finzione letteraria?', (Collectanea byzantina), *Or. Chr. Analecta* 204 (Rome, 1977), 181-186.
- Stamates, E. S., 'Τὰ εἰς τὴν Ἀραβικὴν εὐρεθέντα τέσσαρα νέα βιβλία τῶν ἀριθμητικῶν τοῦ Διοφάντου', *Platon* 28 (1976), 121-33.
- Stephanides, M. I., 'Τὰ μαθηματικά τῶν βυζαντινῶν', *Ἀθηνᾶ* 35 (1923), 206-218.
- Stevenson, H., *Codices MSS. Graeci Reginae Suecorum et Pii PP. II, Bibliothecae Vati-*

- canae descripti*, Rome, 1888.
- Stiernon, D., 'Deuxième concile de Lyon (1274)', *Catholicisme* 33 (1977), 76-82.
- , 'Joseph le Philosophe, moine byzantin mort vers 1330', *DS VIII* (Paris, 1974), 1388-92.
- Stornajolo, C., *Codices Urbinae Graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae descripti*, Rome, 1895.
- Strygofsky, J., 'Ἡ μονὴ τοῦ κυνηγοῦ τῶν φιλοσόφων', *ΔΙΕΕΕ* 3 (1890), 117-28.
- Svoronos, N., *Recherches sur la tradition juridique à Byzance. La Synopsis Major des Basiliques et ses appendices* (Bibliothèque Byzantine, Études 4), Paris, 1964.
- Tafrali, O., *Thessalonique au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1913.
- Tannery, P., 'Manuel Moschopoulos et Nicolas Rhadbas', *Mémoires scientifiques* 4, Paris-Toulouse, 1920, pp. 1-19.
- , 'Sciences exactes chez les Byzantins', *Mémoires scientifiques* 4, Paris-Toulouse, 1920.
- Tarnanidis, I., 'Byzantine-Bulgarian Ecclesiastical relations during the reigns of Ioannis and Ivan Asen II, up to the year 1235', *Cyrrillomethodianum* 3 (1975), 28-52.
- Tatakes, B. N., 'Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Φιλοσοφία. Μετάφραση ἀπὸ τὴ γαλλικὴ ἔκδοσις Eva K. Kalpurtzes. Ἐποπτεία καὶ βιβλιογραφικὴ ἐνημέρωση L. G. Benakes (Βιβλιοθήκη Γενικῆς Παιδείας, 5), Ἑταιρεία Σπουδῶν Νεοελληνικοῦ Πολιτισμοῦ καὶ Γενικῆς Παιδείας, Athens, 1977.
- , *La Philosophie byzantine (Histoire de la Philosophie, ed. by E. Bréhier, fasc. suppl., No II)*, Paris, 1949.
- , *Θέματα Χριστιανικῆς καὶ Βυζαντινῆς Φιλοσοφίας*, Athens, 1952.
- Terzaghi, N., 'Sulla composizione dell' encyclopedia dell' filosofo Giuseppe', *SIFC* 10 (1902), 121-32.
- Theiner A. and Miklosich, F., *Monumenta spectantia ad unionem ecclesiarum graecae et romanae*, Vienna, 1872.
- Theocharides, G. I., 'Ὁ Ματθαῖος Βλάσταρις καὶ ἡ μονὴ τοῦ κυρ-Ἰσαάκ ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ', *B* 40 (1970), 437-59.
- Siderides-Tolia, Aristeia, G., 'Παρατηρήσεις εἰς Μ. Πλανοῦδη μετάφρασιν Α' ἐπιστολῆς τῶν ἡρώτων τοῦ Ὄβιδίου', *Ἐπιστ. Ἐπετηρὶς Φιλολ. Σχολῆς Πανεπιστ. Ἀθηνῶν* 26 (1977-78), 364-373.
- Tomadakes, N. B., *Βυζαντινὴ Ἐπιστολογραφία*, 3rd ed., Athens, 1969.
- , 'Μανουὴλ Β' ὁ Παλαιολόγος († 1425) καὶ οἱ λόγιοι τῶν χρόνων αὐτοῦ', *Παρουασσός* 11,2 (1960), 561-75.
- Trapp, E. et al., *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, I-II, Vienna, 1976-77.
- Tsabare, I. O., 'Ἡ μετάφρασις τῶν Μεταμορφώσεων τοῦ Ὄβιδίου ἀπὸ τὸν Μάξιμο Πλανοῦδη. Ἡ χειρόγραφη παράδοσις', *ΔΩΔΩΝΗ* 3 (1974), 387-405.
- Tsampsis, G., *Byzantine education: its theory and practice*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1965.
- Tsantsanoglou, K., *Τὸ λεξικὸ τοῦ Φωτίου. Χρονολόγησις, χειρόγραφη παράδοσις (Hellenika, Suppl., 17)*, Thessalonike, 1967.
- Tsouyopoulos, N., 'Das Ätherproblem und die Physik-Abhandlung des Nikephoros

- Blemmydes', in "*Rechenpfennige*" K. Vogel zum 80 Geburtstag (8.1.1968), Munich, 1968, pp. 69-89.
- Turyn, A., *Codices Graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi*, Vatican, 1964.
- , *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy*, I-II, Urbana-Chicago-London, 1972.
- , 'Demetrius Triclinius and the Planudean Anthology', *EEBS* 39-40 (1972-73), 403-50.
- , 'Michael Lulludes (or Luludes), a scribe of the Palaeologan era', *Riv. Studi Biz. e Neoell.*, N.S. 10-11 (XX-XXI) (1973-74), 3-15.
- , *Studies in the Manuscript tradition of the tragedies of Sophocles* (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 36, Nos 1-2), Urbana, 1952.
- , *The Byzantine Manuscript tradition of the tragedies of Euripides* (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 43), Urbana, 1957.
- , *The Manuscript tradition of the tragedies of Aeschylus* (Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America), New York city, 1943.
- , 'The Sophocles Recension of Manuel Moschopoulos', *TAPA* 80 (1949), 94-173.
- Tzannetatos, Th. St., 'Ο Όμηρος καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Όρος', *Επιστ. Ἐπετηρὶς Φιλολ. Σχολῆς Πανεπιστ. Ἀθηνῶν*, Περ. Δευτέρα, 24, 1 (1973-74), 119-130.
- Underwood, P., *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 4, Princeton, 1975.
- Vakalopoulos, A. E., *Ἱστορία τοῦ Νέου Ἑλληνισμοῦ*, I, 2nd edition, Thessalonike, 1974.
- , *Origins of the Greek Nation: The Byzantine period (1204-1461)*, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1970.
- Valdenberg, V., 'Notes sur l'oraison funèbre de G. Acropolite', *BZ* 30 (1929-30), 91-95.
- Vasiliev, A. A., *History of the Byzantine Empire (324-1453)*, 2nd English edition revised, Oxford, 1952.
- Verhelst, M., 'La tradition manuscrite de Nicéphore Blemmyde. A propos du manuscrit de Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Grec 1999', *Bulletin de Philosophie médiévale* 8-9 (Louvain, 1966/67), 111-18.
- , 'Le *Περὶ ψυχῆς* de Nicéphore Blemmyde. Préliminaires à une édition critique', *BF* 4 (1972), 214-219.
- Verpeaux, J., 'Contribution à l'étude de l'administration byzantine: ὁ μεσάζων', *BS* 16 (1955), 270-296.
- , *Nicéphore Choumnos, homme d'état et humaniste byzantin (ca. 1250/1255-1327)*, Paris, 1959.
- , 'Notes chronologiques sur les livres II et III De Andronico Palaeologo de Georges Pachymère', *REB* 17 (1959), 168-173.
- Vlachos, T., *Die Geschichte der Byzantinischen Stadt Melenikon*, Thessalonike, 1969.
- Vogel, M. and Gardthausen, V., *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1909 (Repr. Hildesheim, 1966).



- Volk, O., Die byzantinischen Klösterbibliotheken Griechenlands, Konstantinopels, und Kleinasien, unpublished diss., Munich, 1955.
- Voltz, L., 'Die Schriftstellerei des Georgios Lakapenos', *BZ* 2 (1893), 221-34.
- Wartelle, A., *Inventaire des manuscrits grecs d'Aristote et de ses commentateurs*, Paris, 1963.
- Waszink, J. H., 'Some observations on the appreciation of 'The philosophy of the Barbarians' in Early Christian Literature', in *Mél. Ch. Mohrmann*, Utrecht-Antwerp, 1963, pp. 41-56.
- Wegehaupt, H., 'Planudes und Plutarch', *Philologus* 73 (1914-16), 244-52.
- Weiss, R., *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*, Oxford, 1969.
- Weitzmann, K. et al., *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art*, Princeton University, 1975.
- Weitzmann, K., *Illustrated Manuscripts of St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai*, Collegeville, Minn., St. John's University Press, 1973.
- , *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H. L. Kessler, Chicago, 1971.
- , 'The selection of texts for cyclic illustration in Byzantine manuscripts', *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium "1971", ed. Dumbarton Oaks, 1975, pp. 69-109.
- Wellesz, E., *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, Oxford, 1961.
- Wendel, C., 'Die erste kaiserliche Bibliothek in Konstantinopel', *ZfB* 59 (1942), 193-209.
- , 'Planudea', *BZ* 40 (1940), 406-45.
- , 'Planudes als Bücherfreund', *ZfB* 58 (1941), 77-87.
- , 'Planudes, Maximos', *RE* 20, 2 (1950), cols. 2202-53.
- West, M. L., 'The Medieval Manuscripts of the Works and Days', *Classical Quarterly* 24 (1974), 161-85.
- Wicks, M. M., *Aelius Aristides and the society of his time*, M. A. thesis, University of London, 1960.
- Wiesner J. and Victor, U., 'Griechische Schreiber der Renaissance. Nachträge zu den Repertorien von Vogel-Gardthausen, Patrinelis, Canart, de Meyier', *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*, N.S. 8-9, (1971-72), 51-66.
- Wilson, N. G., 'A Byzantine Miscellany: MS Barocci 131 described', *JOB* 27 (1978), 157-179.
- , 'Books and Readers in Byzantium', *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium "1971", ed. Dumbarton Oaks, 1975, pp. 2-15.
- , 'Maximus Planudes and a Famous Codex of Plutarch', *GRBS* 16 (1975), 95-97.
- , *Medieval Greek Bookhands* (The Medieval Academy of America publications, 81), Cambridge, Mass., 1973.
- , 'Nicaean and Palaeologan Hands: Introduction to a Discussion', *La Paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Paris, 1977, pp. 263-267.
- , 'Notes on Greek Manuscripts', *Scriptorium* 15 (1961), 316-20.

- , 'Planudes and Triclinius', *GRBS* 19 (1978), 389-394 (with one plate as p. 395).
- , 'Scholarly Hands of the Middle Byzantine Period', *La Paléographie grecque et byzantine*, Paris, 1977, pp. 221-239.
- , 'The Book Trade in Venice ca. 1400-1515', *Civiltà Veneziana, Studi* 32, vol. 2, Florence, 1977, pp. 381-97.
- , 'The Church and classical studies in Byzantium', *Antike und Abendland* 16 (1970), 68-77.
- , 'The Composition of Photius' *Bibliotheca*', *GRBS* 9 (1968), 451-55.
- , 'The Libraries of the Byzantine World', *GRBS* 8 (1967), 53-80.
- Winkelmann, F., 'Nachrichten über das Nikaia des 13. Jahrhunderts in einer Laudatio des Konstantinos Akropolites', *Studia Balcanica* 1 (Sofia, 1970), 113-115.
- Wirth, P., 'Die Jugendbildung des Eustathios von Thessalonike. Zur Entmythologisierung der "Patriarchalakademie" von Konstantinopel', *OCP* 34 (1968), 148-50.
- , 'Manuel Karantenos, Plagiator Basilios' des Grossen', *BF* 3 (1968), 248-50.
- , *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, Munich, 1977.
- Xanatalos, D., *Tà σχολεία στὸ Βυζάντιο*, Athens, 1939.
- Yannopoulos, A. P., 'Notes sur l'emplacement de l' *Οἰκουμενικὸν Διδασκαλεῖον*', *B* 44 (1974), 68-91.
- Young, D. C. C., 'On Planudes' Edition of Theognis and a Neglected Apograph of the *Anthologia Planudea*', *La Parola del Passato* 10 (1955), 197-214.
- Zachariadou, Elizabeth, A., 'Observations on some Turcica of Pachymeres', *REB* 36 (1978), 261-267.
- , 'Pachymeres on the Amourioi of Kastamonou', *BMGS* 3 (1977), 57-70.
- Zakythenos, D. A., '“Ἅγιος Βάρβαρος”, *Εἰς Μνήμην Κωνσταντίνου Ι. Ἀμάντου*, Athens, 1960, pp. 438-453.
- Zanetti A. M. and Bongiovanni, A., *Graeca D. Marci Bibliotheca codicum manu scriptorum*, Venice, 1740.
- Lappa-Zizicas, E., 'Un Traité inédit de Théodore II Lascaris', *Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d' Études Byzantines*, I, Paris 1948, pp. 119-26.
- Zolotas, G., 'Γεωγραφικά εἰς Παχυμέρην', *Ἐπετηρὶς Φιλολογικοῦ Συλλόγου Πανεπιστοῦ Θ'* (1906), 5-18.
- Zotos, A., *Ἰωάννης ὁ Βέκκος Πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως νέας Ῥώμης ὁ Λατινόφρων*, Munich, 1920.
- Zuntz, G., *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides*, Cambridge, 1965.

### (C) ADDITIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allard, A., *Maxime Planude. Le grand calcul selon les Indiens. Histoire du texte, édition critique traduite et annotée*, Louvain-La-Neuve, 1981.
- Allard, E., 'L'Ambrosianus Et 157 sup., un manuscrit autographe de Maxime Planude', *Scriptorium* 33 (1979), 219-234.

- Anastasi, R., 'L'Università a Bisanzio nell' XI Secolo', *Sicilorum Gymnasium*, N.S. 32,2 (1979), 351-378.
- Anastos, M. V., *Studies in Byzantine Intellectual History* (Variorum Reprints), London, 1979.
- Barbour, R., *Greek Literary Hands, A.D. 400-1600* (Oxford Palaeographical Handbooks), Oxford, 1981.
- Booiamra, J. L., 'Athanasios of Constantinople: A Study of Byzantine Reaction to Latin Religious Infiltration', *Church History* 48 (1979), 27-48.
- Byzantium and the Classical Tradition, University of Birmingham Thirteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, 1979*, ed. by Margaret Mullet and R. Scott, Birmingham, 1981.
- Cavallo, G., 'Il libro come oggetto d'uso nel mondo bizantino', *JOB* 31,2 (1981), 395-423.
- , 'Scritture italo-greche librerie e documentarie. Note introduttive ad uno studio correlato', in *Bisanzio e l'Italia, Raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi*, Milan, 1982, pp. 29-38.
- Constantinides, C. N., 'The metropolitan of Mitylene Dionysios Arkas. A student of George of Cyprus', *Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαὶ* 44 (1980), 83-89.
- , 'Ὁ βιβλιόφιλος πατριάρχης Ἀντιόχειας Θεοδόσιος IV Πρίγκιψ (1275/-1283)', *Epeteris of the Cyprus Research Centre* 11 (1981-82).
- Wolska-Conus, Wanda, 'L'école de droit et l'enseignement du droit à Byzance au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Xiphilin et Psellos', *TM* 7 (1979), 1-107.
- Criscuolo, U., 'Altri inediti di Manuele Karantenos o Sarantenos', *EEBS* 44 (1979-80), 151-163, text pp. 155-163.
- , 'Didaskalia e Versi di Costantino Stilbes', *Δίπτυχα* 2 (1980-81), 78-97, text with Italian translation pp. 83-97.
- Cutler, A., 'The Social Status of Byzantine Scribes, 800-1500. A Statistical Analysis Based on Vogel-Gardthausen', *BZ* 74 (1981), 328-334 (with 4 Tables).
- Demetracopoulos, Ph. A., 'The exegesis of the canons in the twelfth century as school texts', *Δίπτυχα* 1 (1979), 143-158.
- Failler, A., 'La Tradition Manuscrite de l' Histoire de Georges Pachymère (livres I-VI)', *REB* 37 (1979), 123-220.
- , 'Chronologie et composition dans l' Histoire de Georges Pachymère', *REB* 38 (1980), 5-103.
- Fatouros, G., 'Die Autoren der zweiten Sophistik im Geschichtswerk des Niketas Choniates', *JOB* 29 (1980), 165-186.
- Formentin, Mariarosa, 'I Palinsesti Greci della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana e della Capitolare di Verona', *Δίπτυχα* 2 (1980-81), 146-186 (with 16 plates).
- Gallavotti, C., 'Planudea III', *Boll. dei Classici*, S. 3,2 (1981), 3-27.
- Gamillscheg, E., 'Autoren und Kopisten. Beobachtungen zu Autographen byzantinischer Autoren', *JOB* 31,2 (1981), 379-394.
- Gamillscheg, E. and Harlfinger, D., *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600, I.*

- Teil: *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens*, Vienna, 1981.
- Garzya, A., 'Testi letterari d' uso strumentale', *JOB* 31,1 (1981), 263-287.
- Gigante, M., 'Massimo Planude Interprete di Cicerone', in *Scritti sulla civiltà letteraria Bizantina* (Saggi Bibliopolis, 5), Naples, 1981, pp. 105-130.
- , *Poeti Bizantini di Terra d' Otranto nel secolo XIII* (Byzantina et Neo-Hellenica Neapolitana, VII), University di Napoli-Cattedra di Filologia Bizantina, Naples, 1979.
- , *Scritti sulla civiltà letteraria Bizantina* (Saggi Bibliopolis, 5), Naples, 1981.
- Hörandner, W., *Der Prosarhythmus in der rhetorischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (Wiener Byzantinische Studien, XVI), Vienna, 1981.
- Hunger, H. and Kresten, O., 'Archaisierende Minuskel und Hodegonstil im 14. Jahrhundert. Der Schreiber Theoktistos und die *κράλαινα τῶν Τριβαλλῶν*', *JOB* 29 (1980), 187-235 (with 16 plates).
- Hunger, H. and Kresten, O., *Das Register des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel, I teil (1315-1331)* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, XIX/I), Vienna, 1981.
- Hunger, H. et al., *Studien zum Patriarchatregister von Konstantinopel*, vol. I, Vienna, 1981.
- Hunger, H., 'The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Literature: The Importance of Rhetoric', in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, University of Birmingham, 1981, pp. 35-47.
- Irigoin, J., 'La tradition manuscrite des tragiques grecs dans l' Italie méridionale au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et dans les premières années du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *Bisanzio e l' Italia, Raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi*, Milan, 1982, pp. 132-143.
- Jeffreys, M., 'Byzantine Metrics: Non-Literary Strata', *JOB* 31,1 (1981), 313-334.
- Karlsson, G. H. et al., *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus 28* (Biblioteca Ekmaniana, 69), Uppsala, 1981.
- Keaney, J. J., 'Moschopoulos and the Scholia to the *Batrachomyomachia*', *Classical Philology* 74 (1979), 60-63.
- Kennedy, G. A., *Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1980.
- Kourouses, S. I., 'Αἱ περὶ βαθμῶν συγγενείας καὶ γάμων νομικαὶ διατάξεις τοῦ κώδ. Par. Gr. 1372 καὶ ὁ γραφεὺς Γεωργίος Γαλησιώτης (1278/80-1357)', *EEBS* 44 (1979-80), 377-386 (plates Θ'-ΙΣΤ').
- , 'Τὸ Ἐπιστολάριον Γεωργίου Λακαπηνοῦ καὶ Ἀνδρονίκου Ζαρίδου', *Ἀθηνα* 77 (1978-79) 291-386.
- Kyrris, C. P., 'Ἡ πρώτη φάσις τοῦ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου καὶ ἡ πρώτη συνδιαλλαγή τῶν δύο Ἀνδρονίκων (20.IV - Φθινόπωρον 1321) (Τὸ Βυζάντιον κατὰ τὸν ΙΔ' αἰῶνα, I, Μεσανατολική Βιβλιοθήκη, 2), Nicosia, 1982.
- Labowsky, Lotte, 'Cardinal Bessarion's precious manuscript of Euclid', *JOB* 28 (1979), 129-139.
- , *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana. Six early Inventories* (Sussidi eruditi, 31), ed. di Storia e Letteratura, Rome, 1979.

- Lackner, W., 'Ein angeblicher Brief des Patriarchen Ioannes XIII Glykys über Ioannes Chrysostomos', *JOB* 28 (1979), 127-128.
- Maguire, H., *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1981.
- Mango, C., 'Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium', in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, University of Birmingham, 1981, pp. 48-57.
- Matteo di Efeso, *L'ekphrasis per la festa di Pasqua. Testo critico, introduzione e traduzione a cura di Adriana Pignani*, Naples, 1981.
- Medvedev, I. P., 'Neue philosophische Ansätze im späten Byzanz', *JOB* 31,2 (1981), 529-548.
- Mioni, E., 'I manoscritti di Strabone della Biblioteca Marciana di Venezia', in *Bisanzio e l'Italia, Raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi*, Milan, 1982, pp. 260-273.
- Moffat, Ann, 'Early Byzantine School Curricula and a Liberal Education', *Mélanges I. Dujčev*, Paris, 1979, pp. 275-288.
- Mpozones, G., 'Ἀνέκδοτον μελέτημα τοῦ Νικηφόρου Χούμνου «Περὶ κόσμου καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν φύσεως»', *Δίπτυχα* 1 (1979), 97-103.
- Mullett, Margaret, 'The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Letter', in *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, University of Birmingham, 1981, pp. 75-93.
- Murru, F., 'Alla riscoperta dei grammatici dimenticati: Massimo Planude', *Riv. Studi Class.* 27 (1979), 217-224.
- , 'Massimo Planude e i suoi discepoli nel *περὶ συντάξεως*', *Listy filol.* 103 (1980), 202-208.
- , 'Sull'origine della teoria localistica di Massimo Planude', *Antiqu. Class.* 48 (1979), 82-97.
- Needham, P., *Twelve Centuries of Bookbindings, 400-1600*, Oxford University Press, 1979.
- Nicol, D. M., *Church and Society in the Last Centuries of Byzantium*, Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- , *The End of the Byzantine Empire*, London, 1979.
- , 'Thessalonica as a Cultural Centre in the Fourteenth Century', in *Ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη μεταξύ Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως, Πρακτικὰ Συμποσίου Τεσσαρακονταετηρίδος τῆς Ἑταιρείας Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν*, 30 Ὀκτ.-1 Νοεμ. 1980, Thessalonike, 1982, pp. 121-131.
- Kotsias-Panteles, P., 'Τὸ «Περὶ τῶν σοφιστικῶν ἐλέγχων» τοῦ κώδικα Marc. Gr. XI, 22', *Ἐπιστ. Ἑπετηρὶς Φιλολ. Σχολῆς Πανεπιστ. Θεσσαλονίκης* 18 (1979), 207-221.
- Papaeliopolou-Photopoulou, E., 'Ἀγνωστὴ Ἀκολουθία στὸν Ἅγιον Κασσιανὸν τὸν Ρωμαῖο, Ποίημα «τοῦ Κρήτης» (Νικηφόρου τοῦ Μοσχοπούλου)', *Δίπτυχα* 2 (1980-81), 119-145, text pp. 132-144.
- Passarelli, G., *Macario Crisocephalo (1300-1382)* (Orient. Christ. Anal., 210), Pontif. Inst. Oriental. Studiorum, Rome, 1980.
- Peri, V., 'L'opuscolo di Giovanni Vekkos "Sull' infondatezza storica dello scisma tra le

- Chiese" e la sua prima redazione', *SBN*, N.S. 14-16 (1977-79), 203-237.
- Polites, L., 'Τὸ βιβλιογραφικὸ ἐργαστήριον καὶ ἡ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς μονῆς Προδρόμου Σεργῶν', *Σερραϊκὰ Χρονικὰ* 8 (1979), 31-55 (plates 1-11 as pp. 57-67).
- Prato, G., 'Un autografo di Theodoro II Lascaris imperatore di Nicea?', *JOB* 30 (1981), 249-258.
- Robin, Diana, M., *The Manuscript Tradition of Oppian's Halieutica*, Ph.D. Diss., University of Iowa, 1979.
- Rouché, Mossman, 'A middle Byzantine Handbook of Logic Terminology', *JOB* 29 (1980), 71-98, text pp. 89-98.
- Ševčenko, I., 'Constantinople viewed from the Eastern Provinces in the Middle Byzantine Period', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3-4 (1979-80), 712-741, (with 6 maps as pp. 742-47), (Eucharisterion: Essays presented to Omeljan Pritsak on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students).
- , 'Levels of Style in Byzantine Prose', *JOB* 31,1 (1981), 289-312.
- , *Society and Intellectual Life in Late Byzantium* (Variorum Reprints), London, 1981.
- Ševčenko, I. and Featherstone, J., 'Two poems by Theodore Metochites', *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 26 (1981), 1-46, text with English translation pp. 14-45 (with a plate as p. 46).
- Sopko, A. J., 'Studia Patristica: Literary and Theological Corrections in the Late Thirteenth Century', *Sixth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Abstracts of Papers*, Oberlin, Ohio, 1980, p. 39.
- Spatharakis, I., 'An Illuminated Manuscript from the Nicaean Era', *Cahiers Archéologiques* 28 (1979), 137-141 (with 6 plates).
- , *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts. To the year 1453*, 2 vols. Leiden, 1981.
- Tartaglia, Luigi, 'L' Opusculo de Subiectorum in Principem Officiis di Teodoro II Lascaris', *Δίπτυχα* 2 (1980-81), 187-222, (Greek text pp. 196-209; Italian transl. pp. 210-220).
- Turyn, A., *Dated Greek Manuscripts of Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Great Britain* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, XVII), Washington, D. C., 1980.
- Watson, A. G., *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 700-1900 in the Department of Manuscripts, The British Library*, 2 vols. London, 1980.
- Weitzmann, K., *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels* (Variorum Reprints), London, 1980.
- Westerink, L. G., 'La Profession de foi de Grégoire Chioniadès', *REB* 38 (1980), 233-245, text pp. 243-245.
- , *Texts and Studies in Neoplatonism and Byzantine Literature, Collected papers*, Amsterdam, 1980.

## GENERAL INDEX

- 'Αγαμέμνων, 165  
 'Αγιοθεοδώριτης, 11 note, 21 note  
*ἀγωνίσματα, φοιτητῶν*, 152 note  
 'Αδάμ, 101 note  
 Adramyttion, 53  
 Adrianople, 23, 67  
 Aegean, islands, 134  
 Aeschines, 143  
 Aesop, Fables, 81  
 Agapetos, John IX, Patriarch of Constantinople, 137 note  
 'Αθανάσιος, 'Αλεξανδρείας, 22 note  
 'Αθηναῖοι, 99, 163, 165  
 Αἴγυπτος, 43 note  
 Akataleptos, monastery, 35, 44, 58 note, 69, 70, 85  
 Akataleptos, school, 70  
 'Ακατάληπτος, Σωτήρ Χριστός, μονή, 35 note, 70  
 'Ακουῖλα, 87  
 Akropolites, Constantine, grand logothete, 32 note, 34 note, 35 note, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45 note, 53, 56, 57, 59 note, 63 note, 67 note, 73 note, 74 note, 84 note, 109 note, 118, 119, 120, 121, 124, 128, 131 note, 140, 141, 144, 145 note, 146, 147, 150 note, 152, 154 note, 155 note, 163  
*Progygnasmata*, 100, 101  
 Akropolites, George, *logothetēs tou genikou*, grand logothete, 6 note, 7 note, 9, 10, 11, 12 note, 13, 14, 16 note, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22 note, 23, 26, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 53, 56, 59 note, 68 note, 91, 99, 116, 118, 119, 122, 124, 125, 126, 134 note, 138, 141, 148, 150, 151, 153, 155, 156  
 'Ακροπολίτης, Γεώργιος, μέγας λογοθέτης, 15 note, 31 note, 32 note, 33 note, 34 note  
 Akropolites, Manuel, *epi tōn gonatōn*, 40, 67  
 Akropolites, Melchisedek, monk, identified with Manuel Akropolites (?), 40, 67, 74, 75  
 Alexander, of Aphrodisias, 2, 125, 142  
 Alexandria, 22 note, 43, 63, 64, 72  
 'Αλεξάνδρεια, 22 note  
 Alexios II, Emperor of Trebizond, 109  
 Alyates, Nikephoros, imperial secretary, 22 note  
 ambassadors, 58  
 Ammonios, 125  
*anagnōstes*, 36  
 'Αμπαρ, 130 note  
 Anaia, 25  
 ἀναλυτική, 33 note  
 analytics, 7, 32, 36  
*ἀνασκευή*, 152  
 Anastasis, church, 38, 39  
 Andronikos, bishop of Sardis, 23  
 Angelos, Manuel, 139 note  
 anthologies, 161  
 anthology, Greek, 147  
 Anthology, Palatine, 76  
 anti-unionists, 34, 67  
*antilogiai*, 153  
 'Αντίπατρος, 119 note  
 'Αντίπετρος, 119 note  
 Aphthonios, 2, 61, 100, 139, 153  
*Progygnasmata*, 7, 11, 45, 80, 152  
 Apokaukos, Alexios, student of Theodore Hyrtakenos, 94  
 Apollo, 11 note  
 Apollodoros, 122  
 Apollonios, of Perge, 91, 156  
 Apostle, 60  
 Apostles, Holy, church, 54, 156  
*apostolarios*, 33 note  
 'Απόστολοι, κορυφαῖοι, 87 note  
 'Απόστολος, 50 note  
 Apulia, 125  
 Arabic, 96, 97, 159  
 Aratos, 130, 140, 142, 148 note, 157  
*Phainomena*, 72, 80  
 Archimedes, 157  
*archontopouloi*, 8  
 Arethas, 151  
 Argeios, Iakobos, *hypatos tōn philosophōn*, 132  
 Argyropoulos, deacon, 23  
 Argyros, Isaac, 92, 97, 127  
 ἀριθμός, τετράγωνος, 73 note

- Arion, musician, 11 note  
 Aristides, Aelius, 41, 44, 46, 138, 140, 141, 144, 146, 152, 153  
 Aristophanes, 105 note, 144  
*Ploutos*, 80 note, 147 note  
 Ἀριστοτέλης, 32 note, 36 note  
*Λογική*, 91 note, *Μετὰ τὰ Φυσικά*, 91 note  
 Aristotle, 2, 16, 22, 24, 32, 64, 91, 114, 121, 127, 131, 137, 141, 157, 158, 160  
*Analytica Posteriora*, 122, 124, 126, *Analytica Priora*, 55, 122, 124, 125, 126, *Analytics*, 119, *Categoriae*, 62 note, 125, 126, *De anima*, 125, *De caelo*, 142, *Dialectica*, 56, *De interpretatione*, 62 note, 122, 124, 126, *Ethica Nicomachia*, 36 note, 125, 146, *Latin translation*, 63, *Logic*, 155, *Metaphysica*, 125, *Meteora*, 142, *Organon*, 35 note, 46 note, 56, 63 note, 83, 126, 134, 139, *Physica*, 125, *Sophisticos elenchos*, 56, 125, 126, *Topica*, 126  
 Aristoxenos, 157  
 arithmetic, 1, 8, 32, 36, 54, 56, 62 note, 71, 78, 80, 91, 155, 156, 157  
 arithmetic, elementary, 54  
 Armenians, 68  
 ἀρμονική, 78 note  
 Arsenios, of Monembasia, 63 note  
 Arsenios, Autoreianos, Patriarch of Constantinople, 15, 44, 137 note  
 Arsenios, of Pergamon, scribe, 78 note, 83  
 Arsenite, faction, 20, 33, 44, 64  
 Arsenites, 67  
 Arrianos, 143  
 Artamytes, mount, 13  
 Asia Minor, 14, 15 note, 17, 20, 42, 43, 53 note, 57, 73, 75, 84, 85, 90, 91, 92, 102, 134, 135, 136, 156  
 astrology, 22, 23  
 astronomy, 1, 8, 12, 19, 20, 22, 62, 72, 78, 80, 90, 91, 92, 95, 96, 97, 109, 122, 128, 130, 144, 149, 156, 157, 158  
 Athanasios, Patriarch of Alexandria, 22 note, 43, 63, 64  
 Athanasios I, Patriarch of Constantinople, 25 note, 59, 130, 143 note  
 Athenians, 39  
 Athens, 21, 25, 116 note  
 Athonites, St. Athanasios, 10 note  
 Ἀτραμύτιον, 53 note  
 Autoreianos, George or Arsenios, monk, 44, 45 note, 77, 78, 82, 144  
 Auxentios, Mt., 58, 68, 85, 86 note  
 Babouskomites, George, teacher of logic and rhetoric, 15, 16, 17, 22, 27, 141, 150  
 βαθμοί, 32, 33 note  
 Baldwin, Latin Emperor of Constantinople, 32 note  
 Balkans, 162  
 Balsamon, imperial secretary, 21  
 βαμβακίναι, 136 note  
 Bardales, family of, 93 note  
 Bardales, Leo (?), 45 note  
 Bardales, Leo, *orphanotrophos*, 82, 85, 150  
 Bardales, student of Theodore Hyrtakenos, 93, 94 note  
 Basil, son of John Glykys, student of Theodore Hyrtakenos, 94  
 Basilakes, Nikephoros, 101 note  
 Batatzes, John III, Emperor, 9, 12, 13, 17, 20, 22 note, 23, 115, 134, 148, 159  
 Beaskos, Demetrios, *megas oikonomos*, 118 note, 120, 127  
 Βέκκος, 60 note  
 Bekkos, George, *primikērios tōn patriarchikōn notariōn*, 73, 139  
 Bekkos, John, *chartophylax*, Patriarch of Constantinople, 16, 23 note, 57, 60, 139  
 Bessarion, Cardinal, 88, 124 note  
 βιβλιοθήκη, 70  
 bibliophile, 45, 140, 145  
 βιβλοποιοί, 148 note  
 Bithynia, 7, 68  
 Blachernai, 57, 67, 104  
 Blanga, 70  
 Blastares, Matthew, 127  
 Βλεμίδους, Demetrios Droubanes, 7 note  
 Blemmydes, Metrophanes, *hieromonachos*, melodist of Byzantine music, 7 note  
 Βλεμμίδης, Νικηφόρος, 12 note  
 Blemmydes, Nikephoros, teacher, monk, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22 note, 23, 26 note, 27, 31, 32 note, 64, 65, 68 note, 81, 82, 108, 115, 125, 126, 134, 137, 138 note, 141, 144, 146, 148, 149, 151, 153, 154, 155, 156, 159, 160, 161  
*Γεωγραφία συνοπτική*, 24, *Epitomē* on logic, 12, 24, *Epitomē* on physics, 24, 158 note, *Ἱστορία περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν συνόψει*, 24, *Λόγος περὶ σώματος*, 25, *Λόγος περὶ ψυχῆς*, 24,



- Works on the Blood and Urine, 81  
 Choirosphaktes, Leo, 107  
*Blemmydophobia*, 25 note  
 Blood, 81  
 Boethius, 58, 88, 139, 144  
   *De consolatione philosophiae*, 82  
 book binding, 71  
 Bosphoros, 8, 144  
 Bryennios, Joseph, theologian, 88, 97, 99  
 Bryennios, Manuel, astronomer, 63, 74, 78, 90, 91, 95, 96, 97, 109, 142, 145 note, 149, 150, 156, 157,  
   Scholia on Ptolemy's *Almagest*, 96, 157,  
   Harmonics, 96, 97, 157  
 Bulgaria, 82, 120 note  
 Βυζάντιον, 102 note  
 Byzantines, 31, 32, 62, 89, 144, 159  
 Byzantium, 1, 2, 5, 66, 78, 92, 97, 100, 125, 126, 127, 136 note, 143, 154, 159, 162  
  
 γεωγραφικὸν πινάκιον, 76  
 γεωμετρία, 117 note  
 Γεώργιος, son of John Glykys, 98 note  
 Γεώργιος-Γρηγόριος, Κύπριος, Πατριάρχης, 35 note, 37 note, 47 note  
 Γερμανός, Πατριάρχης, 55 note  
 Γεώργιος, ἄγιος, 101 note  
 Γλυκὺς, Ἰωάννης, λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου, Πατριάρχης, 88 note, 99 note  
 γνώμη, 152  
 γραμματική, 56, 88 note, 117 note  
 Γρηγόριος, Κύπριος, see Γεώργιος-Γρηγόριος, Κύπριος  
 Γρηγόριος, Πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων, 60 note  
 γυμνασίαι, 152  
  
 Calculus, Indian, 72, 73, 88  
 Cato, *Disticha*, 88, 89  
 catoptrics, 158  
 Chalke, 52  
 Chalkedon, 68  
 Chalcondyles, Demetrios, 106 note  
 Chalkomatopoulos, teacher of poetry and rhetoric, 43 note, 90, 92, 93, 151 note  
*chartophylax*, 115, 117, 120, 122, 123, 124  
 Cheilas, John, metropolitan of Ephesos, 38, 48, 61 note  
 Cheilas, Prinkips, 142 note  
 Chioniades, Gregory, bishop of Tabriz, 96, 109, 110 note, 158  
 Chiroboskos, George, 2  
 Chomatianos, Demetrios, 123  
 Choniates, brothers, 139  
 Choniates, Niketas, grand logothete, 5  
 Chora, monastery, 68, 69, 77  
*Chore, monasterium*, 69  
 Chortasmenos, John, 127, 145  
 Choumnos, Nikephoros, student of George of Cyprus, *koiaistōr, mesazōn, epi tou kankleiou*, 24, 35, 36, 41, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48 note, 92 note, 93, 94 note, 95, 98, 100, 128, 129, 130, 131, note, 140, 142, 143, 144 note, 150, 153, 155 note, 158,  
   *Περὶ τῆς ἑλῆς*, 129  
   *Περὶ ψυχῆς*, 155 note  
 Christ, church, 52  
 Chrysoberges, Nikephoros, *maistōr tōn rhetorōn*, bishop of Sardis, 6 note  
 Chrysokephalos, Makarios, metropolitan of Philadelphia, 88  
   *Ῥοδωνιά*, 48, 61 note  
 Chrysokokkes, George, 95  
 Chrysostom, John, 22 note, 139  
 Church, 1, 2, 5, 9, 12, 17, 21, 22, 45, 47, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 65, 66, 73 note, 114, 115, 122, 126, 131, 132, 135, 139, 148, 154, 155, 159, 160, 161, 162  
 Church, Catholic, 12 note, 41, 64, 66, 154  
 Church, Great, 6, 11, 23 note, 38, 50, 60, 73, 114, 115, 116, 129, 130, 139, 150  
 Church, Orthodox, 64, 110, 115, 126, 132, 160, 162  
 Cilicia, 68, 98, 149  
 Cities, Nicaean, 134  
 Clement IV, Pope, 55 note  
 Cleomedes, 24, 123, 140, 156, 157  
   Circular Theory of the Stars, 72, 80  
 Cleonides, 157  
 collections, 161  
 commentaries, 79, 80  
 commentaries, Neoplatonic, 24  
 commentators, 145  
 Constantine-Cyril, the apostle of the Slavs, 54  
 Constantine, son of George Akropolites, 138, see also Akropolites, Constantine  
 Constantine, son of Andronikos II, 37  
 Constantine, consul of the philosophers (?), successor of Michael of Anchialos, 114  
 Constantine, of Nicaea, philosopher, 114 note

- Arion, musician, 11 note
- Aristides, Aelius, 41, 44, 46, 138, 140, 141, 144, 146, 152, 153
- Aristophanes, 105 note, 144  
*Plutos*, 80 note, 147 note
- Ἀριστοτέλης, 32 note, 36 note  
*Λογική*, 91 note, *Μετὰ τὰ Φυσικά*, 91 note
- Aristotle, 2, 16, 22, 24, 32, 64, 91, 114, 121, 127, 131, 137, 141, 157, 158, 160  
*Analytica Posteriora*, 122, 124, 126, *Analytica Priora*, 55, 122, 124, 125, 126, *Analytics*, 119, *Categoriae*, 62 note, 125, 126, *De anima*, 125, *De caelo*, 142, *Dialectica*, 56, *De interpretatione*, 62 note, 122, 124, 126, *Ethica Nicomachia*, 36 note, 125, 146, *Latin translation*, 63, *Logic*, 155, *Metaphysica*, 125, *Meteora*, 142, *Organon*, 35 note, 46 note, 56, 63 note, 83, 126, 134, 139, *Physica*, 125, *Sophisticos elenchos*, 56, 125, 126, *Topica*, 126
- Aristoxenos, 157
- arithmetic, 1, 8, 32, 36, 54, 56, 62 note, 71, 78, 80, 91, 155, 156, 157
- arithmetic, elementary, 54
- Armenians, 68
- ἁρμονική, 78 note
- Arsenius, of Monembasia, 63 note
- Arsenius, Autoreianos, Patriarch of Constantinople, 15, 44, 137 note
- Arsenius, of Pergamon, scribe, 78 note, 83
- Arsenite, faction, 20, 33, 44, 64
- Arsenites, 67
- Arrianos, 143
- Artamyes, mount, 13
- Asia Minor, 14, 15 note, 17, 20, 42, 43, 53 note, 57, 73, 75, 84, 85, 90, 91, 92, 102, 134, 135, 136, 156
- astrology, 22, 23
- astronomy, 1, 8, 12, 19, 20, 22, 62, 72, 78, 80, 90, 91, 92, 95, 96, 97, 109, 122, 128, 130, 144, 149, 156, 157, 158
- Athanasios, Patriarch of Alexandria, 22 note, 43, 63, 64
- Athanasios I, Patriarch of Constantinople, 25 note, 59, 130, 143 note
- Athenians, 39
- Athens, 21, 25, 116 note
- Athonites, St. Athanasios, 10 note
- Ἀτραμύτιον, 53 note
- Autoreianos, George or Arsenios, monk, 44, 45 note, 77, 78, 82, 144
- Auxentios, Mt., 58, 68, 85, 86 note
- Babouskomites, George, teacher of logic and rhetoric, 15, 16, 17, 22, 27, 141, 150
- βαθμοί, 32, 33 note
- Baldwin, Latin Emperor of Constantinople, 32 note
- Balkans, 162
- Balsamon, imperial secretary, 21
- βαμβαχίναι, 136 note
- Bardales, family of, 93 note
- Bardales, Leo (?), 45 note
- Bardales, Leo, *orphanotrophos*, 82, 85, 150
- Bardales, student of Theodore Hyrtakenos, 93, 94 note
- Basil, son of John Glykys, student of Theodore Hyrtakenos, 94
- Basilakes, Nikephoros, 101 note
- Batatzes, John III, Emperor, 9, 12, 13, 17, 20, 22 note, 23, 115, 134, 148, 159
- Beaskos, Demetrios, *megas oikonomos*, 118 note, 120, 127
- Βέκκος, 60 note
- Bekkos, George, *primikērios tōn patriarchikōn notariōn*, 73, 139
- Bekkos, John, *chartophylax*, Patriarch of Constantinople, 16, 23 note, 57, 60, 139
- Bessarion, Cardinal, 88, 124 note
- βιβλιοθήκη, 70
- bibliophile, 45, 140, 145
- βιβλοποιοί, 148 note
- Bithynia, 7, 68
- Blachernai, 57, 67, 104
- Blanga, 70
- Blastares, Matthew, 127
- Βλεμίδους, Demetrios Droubanes, 7 note
- Blemmydes, Metrophanes, *hieromonachos*, melodist of Byzantine music, 7 note
- Βλεμμίδης, Νικηφόρος, 12 note
- Blemmydes, Nikephoros, teacher, monk, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22 note, 23, 26 note, 27, 31, 32 note, 64, 65, 68 note, 81, 82, 108, 115, 125, 126, 134, 137, 138 note, 141, 144, 146, 148, 149, 151, 153, 154, 155, 156, 159, 160, 161
- Γεωγραφία συνοπτική, 24, *Epitomē* on logic, 12, 24, *Epitomē* on physics, 24, 158 note, Ἱστορία περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν συνόψει, 24, Λόγος περὶ σώματος, 25, Λόγος περὶ ψυχῆς, 24,

- Works on the Blood and Urine, 81  
 Choirosphaktes, Leo, 107  
*Blemmydophobia*, 25 note  
 Blood, 81  
 Boethius, 58, 88, 139, 144  
*De consolatione philosophiae*, 82  
 book binding, 71  
 Bosphoros, 8, 144  
 Bryennios, Joseph, theologian, 88, 97, 99  
 Bryennios, Manuel, astronomer, 63, 74, 78, 90, 91, 95, 96, 97, 109, 142, 145 note, 149, 150, 156, 157,  
 Scholia on Ptolemy's *Almagest*, 96, 157,  
 Harmonics, 96, 97, 157  
 Bulgaria, 82, 120 note  
 Βυζάντιον, 102 note  
 Byzantines, 31, 32, 62, 89, 144, 159  
 Byzantium, 1, 2, 5, 66, 78, 92, 97, 100, 125, 126, 127, 136 note, 143, 154, 159, 162  
  
 γεωγραφικὸν πινάκιον, 76  
 γεωμετρία, 117 note  
 Γεώργιος, son of John Glykys, 98 note  
 Γεώργιος-Γρηγόριος, Κύπριος, Πατριάρχης, 35 note, 37 note, 47 note  
 Γερμανός, Πατριάρχης, 55 note  
 Γεώργιος, ἄγιος, 101 note  
 Γλυκὺς, Ἰωάννης, λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου, Πατριάρχης, 88 note, 99 note  
 γνώμη, 152  
 γραμματική, 56, 88 note, 117 note  
 Γρηγόριος, Κύπριος, see Γεώργιος-Γρηγόριος, Κύπριος  
 Γρηγόριος, Πατριάρχης Ἱεροσολύμων, 60 note  
 γυμνασία, 152  
  
 Calculus, Indian, 72, 73, 88  
 Cato, *Disticha*, 88, 89  
 catoptrics, 158  
 Chalke, 52  
 Chalkedon, 68  
 Chalcondyles, Demetrios, 106 note  
 Chalkomatopoulos, teacher of poetry and rhetoric, 43 note, 90, 92, 93, 151 note  
*chartophylax*, 115, 117, 120, 122, 123, 124  
 Cheilas, John, metropolitan of Ephesos, 38, 48, 61 note  
 Cheilas, Prinkips, 142 note  
 Chioniades, Gregory, bishop of Tabriz, 96, 109, 110 note, 158  
 Chiroboskos, George, 2  
 Chomatianos, Demetrios, 123  
 Choniates, brothers, 139  
 Choniates, Niketas, grand logothete, 5  
 Chora, monastery, 68, 69, 77  
*Chore, monasterium*, 69  
 Chortasmenos, John, 127, 145  
 Choumnos, Nikephoros, student of George of Cyprus, *koiaistōr, mesazōn, epi tou kani-kleiou*, 24, 35, 36, 41, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48 note, 92 note, 93, 94 note, 95, 98, 100, 128, 129, 130, 131, note, 140, 142, 143, 144 note, 150, 153, 155 note, 158,  
*Περὶ τῆς ὕλης*, 129  
*Περὶ ψυχῆς*, 155 note  
 Christ, church, 52  
 Chrysoberges, Nikephoros, *maistōr tōn rhetorōn*, bishop of Sardis, 6 note  
 Chrysokephalos, Makarios, metropolitan of Philadelphia, 88  
*Ῥοδωνιά*, 48, 61 note  
 Chrysokokkes, George, 95  
 Chrysostom, John, 22 note, 139  
 Church, 1, 2, 5, 9, 12, 17, 21, 22, 45, 47, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 65, 66, 73 note, 114, 115, 122, 126, 131, 132, 135, 139, 148, 154, 155, 159, 160, 161, 162  
 Church, Catholic, 12 note, 41, 64, 66, 154  
 Church, Great, 6, 11, 23 note, 38, 50, 60, 73, 114, 115, 116, 129, 130, 139, 150  
 Church, Orthodox, 64, 110, 115, 126, 132, 160, 162  
 Cilicia, 68, 98, 149  
 Cities, Nicaean, 134  
 Clement IV, Pope, 55 note  
 Cleomedes, 24, 123, 140, 156, 157  
 Circular Theory of the Stars, 72, 80  
 Cleonides, 157  
 collections, 161  
 commentaries, 79, 80  
 commentaries, Neoplatonic, 24  
 commentators, 145  
 Constantine-Cyril, the apostle of the Slavs, 54  
 Constantine, son of George Akropolites, 138, see also Akropolites, Constantine  
 Constantine, son of Andronikos II, 37  
 Constantine, consul of the philosophers (?), successor of Michael of Anchialos, 114  
 Constantine, of Nicaea, philosopher, 114 note

- Constantinople, 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13,  
16 note, 22 note, 23 note, 26, 31, 32, 33 note,  
34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 42, 44, 47, 48, 50, 52,  
53, 56, 57, 58, 61, 64, 68, 69, 70, 82, 83,  
84, 85, 86, 87, 89 note, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95,  
96, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 108,  
109, 110, 114, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122,  
124, 127, 131, 132, 134, 136, 138, 142, 145,  
146, 148 note, 150, 151, 154, 155, 156, 157,  
158, 159, 161  
*Constantinopolis*, 69  
copyist, 44  
Corinth, 136  
court, Nicaean, 6  
Cretans, 11 note  
Crete, 103, 104  
Crusade, Fourth, 1, 134, 146, 151  
crusaders, 7  
Cydones, brothers, 82  
Cyprus, 25, 44, 93 note, 98, 108
- Daniel, of Kyzikos, 48  
decrees, 154  
Demokritos, 141  
Demosthenes, 2, 46, 138, 140, 144, 152,  
153, 160  
δέρμα, 75 note  
Δημόκριτος, 163  
Δημοσθένης, 135 note  
dialect, Attic, 99  
dialectics, Greek, 82  
dialects, ancient Greek, 151  
διατριβαί, 150 note  
dictionary, 79 note, 161  
διδασκαλεῖον, 10  
*didaskaliai*, 160  
*didaskalikia*, 50  
διδασκαλικὸς θῶκος, 35 note  
*didaskaloi*, 50, 124  
*didaskalos* τοῦ Ἀποστόλου, 50 note  
*didaskalos* τοῦ Apostolou, 50, 53, 59  
*didaskalos* τῶν *didaskalōn*, 55  
*didaskalos* τῶν *didaskalōn*, 55 note  
*didaskalos* τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου, 50 note  
*didaskalos* τοῦ Evangeliiou, 50, 53  
*didaskalos* τοῦ Psaltēros, 50, 53, 60  
*didaskalos* τοῦ Ψαλτῆρος, 50 note  
διήγημα, 10, 11, 42 note, 100, 152,  
*dikaiophylax*, 63 note, 125  
Dionysios, Areopagite, 145 note  
Dionysios, of Halikarnassos, 143  
Dionysus, 11 note  
Diophantos, 71, 73, 74, 80, 96, 137, 142, 156,  
157  
*Arithmetic*, 62, 72  
diplomacy, 154  
Disypatoi, 60 note  
Disypatos, Manuel, *didaskalos* τοῦ Psaltēros,  
60  
Disypatos, Munuel, metropolitan of Thessa-  
lonike, 60 note  
dogma, Armenian, 68  
dogma, Catholic, 68, 149  
dogma, Orthodox, 12  
Dokeianos, John, 48  
δορά, 74 note  
Doukaïtes, 47  
Doukas, John Synadenos (= Komnenos  
Doukas), general, 137 note  
Doukopoulos, student of John Pediasimos  
and George of Cyprus, 36, 117, 120  
Doxapatres, commentary on Hermogenes,  
139  
dynasty, Palaiologan, 26  
Dyrrachion, 108
- East, 152  
East, Byzantine, 132  
East, Orthodox, 132  
Easter Sunday, 135  
ἐγκώμιον, 152  
editions, 79, 105, 107, 148, 151  
editor, 44, 145  
education, Graeco-Roman, 151 note  
Eirene, Empress, 13, 14, 148  
Eirene-Eulogia, 44  
Eirenikos, Theodore, *epi* τοῦ *kanikleiou*,  
*hypatos* τῶν *philosophōn*, Patriarch, 6, 7, 114,  
115, 116 note, 130 note  
Εἰρηνικός, Θεόδωρος, *epi* τοῦ *kanikleiou*,  
ὑπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων, 114 note, 115  
*eisophorās* νόμος, 152  
Ἐκκλησία, 57 note, 60 note  
ἐκφρασις, 100, 101, 152  
Ἕλληνες, 20 note, 165  
Emathia, 17, 24, 137  
Emparis, *chartophylax*, *hypatos* τῶν *philoso-*  
*phōn*, 130, 131  
Emperor, 2, 8, 10, 12, 24, 25, 26, 27, 40, 54,  
56, 58, 63, 64 note, 71, 103, 105, 109, 116,

- 123, 124, 125, 130, 131, 132, 134, 142, 149,  
154, 159, 160  
Emperor, Philosopher, 20  
Empire, 1, 2, 7, 20, 22, 26, 27, 70, 108, 110,  
138, 161  
Empire, Byzantine, 1, 5  
Empire, Nicaean, 2, 7, 9, 11, 25, 26, 31, 54,  
91, 114, 115, 159  
encyclopaedia, 108  
*enkyklios paideia*, 1, 7, 9, 16, 17, 19, 25, 38,  
39, 40, 90, 93, 109, 119, 151  
'Εξαπτέρυγος, Θεόδωρος, 10 note  
'Εξαπτέρυγος, Νικηφόρος, 10 note  
Ephesos, 6, 7, 11, 12, 16, 18, 19 note, 24, 25,  
31, 37, 38, 48, 61 note, 82, 144, 154  
*ἐπὶ τοῦ κανικλείου*, 114 note  
*epi tou kanikleiou*, 6, 36, 114  
epigrams, 76, 89  
epigrams, Byzantine, 81  
epigrams, Classical, 81  
Epiphany, feast, 55, 154 note  
Epiros, 20, 116  
*ἐπισκευασταί, βιβλῶν*, 148 note  
Epistles, 65  
epitaphs, 161  
Eskammatismenos, Leo, *apographeus* of the  
island of Rhodes and the other Cyclades,  
139, 140 note  
Eskammatismenos, Michael, 129, 139  
*ἐταῖρα*, 150 note  
ethics, 91  
etymology, 106  
Evangeles, doctor, 130  
Evangelists, 51 note  
Εὐαγγέλιον, 50 note  
Euclid, 2, 32, 88, 91, 137, 156, 157  
*Elements*, 80 note, *Epitomē of the canon*, 71  
Eudokia, 37  
Eudoxos, *phainomena*, 130, 142  
Εὐκλείδης, 32, 73 note  
eulogies, 161  
Eunapios, 144  
Euripides, 104, 143, 144  
*Hecuba*, 79, 107, 151, *Orestes* 79, 107, 151,  
*Phoenissae*, 79, 107, 151  
Europe, 1, 14, 17, 18 note, 19  
Eustratios, of Nicaea, 114  
*Ζαχαρίας*, λατρός, φιλόσοφος, 86 note  
*Ζεύς*, 119 note  
*ζίφρα*, 73  
*ζώδια*, 23 note  
*Ζώσιμος, ἀρμονικὴ διατύπωσις*, 13 note  
*ἡθοποιία*, 42 note, 100, 101 note, 152  
'Ηράκλειτος, 163  
*ἡσυχαστήριον*, 17  
*θέατρα*, 150  
θεολογία, 17 note  
*Θεοῦ τοῦ ὄντος*, monastery, 25  
*θείσις*, 100, 152  
*Θεσσαλονίκη*, 119 note  
*Θετταλία*, 84 note, 102 note  
*Θετταλοί*, 84 note  
*θύραθεν παιδεία*, 108, 160  
Falkenburgus, Gerartus, 79 note  
Fathers, 152, 160  
Five Saints, monastery, 68  
Florence, 76 note  
Forty Martyrs, church, 51, 54 note  
Forty Martyrs, school, 11  
Frederick II, 23  
Gabalas. Manuel-Matthaios, metropolitan  
of Ephesos, 88, 101, 109, 130  
Gabras, Michael, student of Manuel Bryen-  
nios, 93 note, 95, 96, 102 note, 103  
Galen, 143  
Galesion, monastery, 25  
Galesiotes, George, scribe, 46 note, 53, 59  
Galesiotes, Constantine, 46 note, 59 note  
Gazes, Theodore, 106 note  
glosses, 106, 107, 148  
Glykys, Basil, student of Theodore Hyrt-  
kenos, 71 note, 94 note  
Glykys, John, *epi tōn deēseōn, logothetēs tou*  
*dromou*, Patriarch of Constantinople, 36,  
43, 45, 46, 47, 58 note, 71, 90, 94, 95, 98,  
99, 150, 160,  
*Περὶ ὁρθότητος συντάξεως*, 98  
*Πρεσβευτικός*, 99  
Genoese, 53  
geography, 77, 78, 80, 161  
geometry, 1, 8, 19, 22, 32, 36, 54, 56, 78, 80,  
91, 117, 122, 128, 155, 156, 157

*Ζαρίδαι*, 84 note

*Ζαρίδης*, Ἰωάννης, scribe 74 note

- George—Gregory, of Cyprus, *anagnōstes, prōtoapostolarios*, Patriarch of Constantinople, 25, 26, 31 note, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 57, 59 note, 60, 61 note, 64 note, 66, 67 note, 68 note, 70, 90, 91, 93 note, 98, 99, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121 note, 124, 126, 127, 135 note, 136, 138, 140, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148 note, 149, 150, 152, 154, 156, 160  
*Autobiography*, 45, *Chreia*, 42 note, 45 *Declamations*, 42 note, 45, *Διηγήματα*, 45, *Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν*, 42 note, 45, *Ἡθοποιία*, 45, *Μῦθοι*, 45, *Proverbs*, 45
- George, of Korony, interpretor, 58
- George, relative of Manuel Neokaisareites, 38
- George, son of John Glykys, 98, 99 note
- Gerasa, 78 note
- Germanos II, Patriarch of Constantinople, 9, 11
- Germanos III, Patriarch of Constantinople, 23, 32, 52, 53, 54 note, 135, 150
- Gorianites, Thomas, student of Maximos Holobolos, 56
- Gospel, 51, 65
- grammar, 1, 7, 11, 19, 25, 26, 36, 54, 56, 72, 78, 82, 88, 90, 99, 101, 104, 105, 107, 117, 161
- grammar-book, 101
- grammatikos*, 17
- grammatistēs*, 17
- Greco-Byzantine, heritage, 159
- Greece, 20, 134
- Greek, 44, 58, 78, 81, 82, 89, 96, 103, 106, 159
- Greek, ancient, 162
- Greek, classical, 42
- Greeks, 20 note, 39
- Gregoras, Nikephoros, 37, 47, 48, 49 note, 57, 66 note, 69 note, 73 note, 91, 92, 94 note, 97, 98, 99, 100 note, 109 note, 110 note, 128, 131 note, 143 note, 149, 154 note
- Gregory, of Cyprus, see George—Gregory of Cyprus
- Gregory, monk, student of Maximos Planoudes, 83, 85, 87
- Gregory, of Nazianzos, 47, 152
- Gregory, Patriarch of Jerusalem, 64
- harmonics, 1, 44, 54, 62 note, 71, 76, 77, 78, 80, 82, 91, 96, 97, 156, 157
- Harpocraton, *Lexicon*, 106
- Hellas, 21
- Hellenes, 20
- Hellenic, works, 159
- Hellenikon, 20
- Hellespont, 18
- Herakleia, of Pontos, 98
- Herakleia, on Thrace, 50 note
- Herakleitos, 141
- Hercules, 122
- Hermogenes, 2, 7, 139, 153  
*Περὶ εὐρέσεως*, 80, *Περὶ ἰδεῶν*, 80, *Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος*, 80, *Περὶ στάσεων*, 80, *Progymnasmata*, 11, 152
- Hero, 156
- hero, ancient Greek, 100
- Herondas, 144
- Hesiod, 119 note, 151  
*Aspis*, 122, *Erga*, 79, 107
- hexameter, 82, 83
- Hexapterygos, family, 10 note
- Hexapterygos, John, 10 note
- Hexapterygos, Kalos, 10 note
- Hexapterygos, Manuel, 10 note
- Hexapterygos, Nikephoros, monk, scribe, 10 note
- Hexapterygos, Stephanos, 10, 11 note
- Hexapterygos, Theodore, teacher of rhetoric, 9, 10, 11, 27, 31, 151 note, 152, 153  
*Διηγήματα*, 10, 11  
 Funeral oration, 10
- hiera grammata*, 1, 7, 17, 20, 24 note, 25
- Hipparchos, of Bithynia, 130, 142
- Hippocrates, 143
- Hohenmburg, marquis of, 23
- Holobolos, Manuel—Maximos, *didaskalos tōn didaskalōn, megas prōtosyngellos, rhetōr tōn rhetorōn*, 26, 33 note, 35 note, 39, 40, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61 note, 62, 64, 82 note, 83, 118, 119, 122, 124, 125, 138, 139, 141, 149, 150, 154 note, 156 note, 160  
 Poems, 55, *Orations*, 55  
 Scholia on *Analytica Priora*, 55, 125  
 Scholia on the *Technopaegnia* of Theocritus, 55  
 Scholia on Theocritus' *Syrinx*, 119  
 Translation of Boethius, 139
- Hagiotessaraktontes, John, *chartophylax*, 116
- Hagiotheodorites, imperial secretary, 11 note, 21

- Homer, 2, 19, 62, 64, 106, 139, 141, 142, 143, 144, 148 note  
*Batrachomyomachia*, 61, 107, *Iliad*, 61, 95 note, 104, 107, 151, *Odyssey*, 95  
 Homologetes, Theophanes, 57 note  
 humanists, Italian, 62, 89  
 Hyakinthos, monastery, 56  
 Hyakinthos, monk, 20  
 Hyaleas, teacher of poetry and rhetoric, 90, 92  
 hymnology, 127  
*hypatos tōn philosophōn*, 33 note, 56, 113, 114, 116, 117, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127, 132  
 Hyrtakenos, from Cyprus, 93 note  
 Hyrtakenos, Theodore, teacher of poetry and rhetoric, 43 note, 71 note, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 109, 144 note, 150 note, 151 note, 155 note  
 Funeral oration on Nik. Choumnos, 95  
*Logos* on the Virgin Mary, 155 note  
 Hyrtakos (or Hyrtake), 93, 95
- Iakobos, archbishop of Bulgaria, 82  
 Iakobos, metropolitan of Thessalonike, (= Isaac, monk), 127  
 Ἰάκωβος, ὑπάτος τῶν φιλοσόφων, 132 note  
 Iamblichos, 31  
 Ἰάμβλιχος, 31 note  
 Iasites, Michael, 139  
 Ἰατρόπουλος, Δημήτριος, 22 note  
 Iatropoulos, Demetrios, *prokathēmenos of Philadelphia*, *logothetēs tōn oikeiakōn*, 22, 22 note  
 Iberon, monastery, 130  
 Ἱεροσόλυμα, 60 note  
 Ἰνδοί, 72, 73 note  
 Innocent III, Pope, 32 note  
 Ionia, 84  
 Iosepos, 142  
 Ἰουδαῖοι, 165  
 Ἰουστινιανός, 69 note  
 Ἰπποκράτης, 86 note  
 Isaac, metropolitan of Ephesos, 37  
 Isaac, monk (= Iakobos, metropolitan), 127  
 Isaiah, 139  
 Isocrates, 143, 152  
 Italians, 23, 82  
 Italikos, Michael, 101 note  
 Italos, John, 113, 114, 131, 161  
 Italy, Southern, 104
- Ithaca, 108  
 Ἰωάννης Δούκας, βασιλεύς, 12 note  
 Ἰωάννης, εὐαγγελιστής, 70  
 Ἰωάννης, ὑπάτος τῶν φιλοσόφων, 124 note  
 Ἰωάννης, Φιλόσοφος, χαρτοφύλαξ, 116 note  
 Jason, 11 note  
 Jerusalem, 64, 89 note  
 John, *Aktouarios*, see Zacharias, John  
 John, of Damascus, 139  
 John, of Lesbos, *hypatos tōn philosophōn*, 132  
 John, servant of Planoudes, 86 note, 93  
 John, uncle of Nikephoros Gregoras, metropolitan, 98  
 Joseph I, of Galesion, Patriarch of Constantinople, 25 note, 33 note, 135 note  
 Joseph, Philosopher, 24, 86, 91 note, 108, 121 note, 126, 129 note, 145 note  
 Joseph, the story of, 100  
 Julian, Emperor, 143  
 Justinian, 69
- Kabasilas, Demetrios Kaniskes, scribe, 46 note  
 Kabasilas, family, 46 note  
 Kabasilas, imperial *aktouarios*, 143 note  
 Καβάσλας, Ἰωάννης, 46 note  
 Kabasilas, John, scribe, 46 note  
 Kabasilas, Nikolaos, 46, 119, 131  
*Monōdia*, 119 note  
 καθ' ἡμᾶς, wisdom, 108  
 καθηγεμῶν, ὁ τῆς ρητορικῆς τέχνης, 51  
 Kallipolites, Andronikos, 103  
 Kallistos, 60 note  
 Kallistos, deacon, 142  
 Kaloeidas, student of George of Cyprus, 37  
 Kaloethes, Constantine, *oikoumenikos didaskalos*, bishop of Madyta, 6 note, 8, 31, 65  
 Καλοήθης, Μαδύτων, 8 note  
 Kamateros, John X, Patriarch of Constantinople, 8, 54  
 Kantakouzenos, 95 note, 130 note  
 Kantakouzenos, John-Ioannikios, 44  
 Karantenos (or Sarantenos), Manuel, *maistōr tōn philosophōn*, Patriarch, 6, 51, 114  
 Karykes, Demetrios, *kritēs, megas logariastēs, hypatos tōn philosophōn*, 6, 7, 9, 12, 27, 114, 115, 116, 148  
 Kassiane, Maria Raoulaina, 86 note  
 Kassianoi, 85  
 Kasianos, family, 86 note

- Kasianos, Nikephoros-Nekandros, 85, 86 note  
 Κασσιανός, Νικηφόρος-Νήκανδρος, μοναχός, 85 note  
 Kassianos, student of Maximos Planoudes, 83, 85  
 Kassianos, *megas primikērios*, 85  
 Kassianos, *megas prōtosyngellos*, Abbot, bishop, 85  
 κατασκευή, 152  
 Kausokalybes, Maximos, 149  
 Kephalas, Constantine, 75  
*Anthology*, 147  
 Kerameas, Theodore, metropolitan of Thessalonike, 120  
 κοινός τόπος, 152  
 Komnenos, Alexios I, Emperor, 50  
 Κομνηνός, Ἀλέξιος I, 50 note  
 Kontotheodoros, John, μαΐστωρ τῆς πρώτης σχολῆς τῶν γραμματικῶν, 6 note  
 κορυφαῖος τοῦ χοροῦ, 83, 160  
 Kostomyres, area, 16 note  
 Kostomyres, Nikolaos, imperial secretary, 16, 22  
 Koubouklarios, Constantine, imperial secretary, 21  
 Κουβουκλάριος, Κωνσταντῖνος, 21 note  
 Krateros, student of Nikephoros Blemmydes, 11 note, 12  
 Κρόνος, 119 note  
 Kydones, Demetrios, 67, 88, 97 note, 119  
 Κυνηγός τῶν Φιλοσόφων, monastery, 116 note  
 Kyprianos, Niketas, *chartophylax*, *hypatos* τῆς φιλοσοφίας, 114, 116 note, 128, 129, 130, 131, 142  
 Κυπριανός, Νικήτας, χαρτοφύλαξ, 129  
 Κύπρος, 37, note  
 κυρ- Ἰσαάκ, monastery, 127  
 Kyritzēs, Manuel, *chartophylax*, 115 note  
 Kyzikos, 48, 63 note, 93  
 Κωνσταντῖνος, μέγας, 101 note  
 Κωνσταντίνου πόλις, ἡ, 26 note, 35 note, 47 note  
 Κωνσταντινούπολις, 22 note, 47 note, 70, 99 note, 132 note  
 Λάζαρος, 101 note  
 Laius, 11 note  
 Lakapenos, George, student of Maximos Planoudes, grammarian and rhetor, 47, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 90, 102, 103, 142, 143, 150 note  
*Epimerismoi*, 101, 103  
 Lampardopoulos, John, 116 note  
 Lampetes, Theodore, scribe, 137 note  
 language, 25, 106  
 language, Attic, 149, 151  
 language, Byzantine Greek, 76  
 language, Classical Greek, 76  
*laosynaktēs*, 85  
 Larissa, 13  
 Lavra, 10 note  
 Laskarid, dynasty, 22, 53  
 Laskarids, 1, 2, 26, 53  
 Laskaris, Janus, 76 note  
 Laskaris, John IV, Emperor, 52  
 Laskaris, Theodore I, Emperor, 5, 6, 8, 115, 116  
 Laskaris, Theodore II, Emperor, 8, 11 note, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 31, 53, 54, 134, 138, 145, 149 note, 150, 156, 159  
*De Communionē Naturali*, 158  
 Encomium for Nicaea, 18 note  
 Encomium for St. Tryphon, 20, note  
 Latin, 42, 58, 69, 77, 78, 80 note, 81, 82, 88, 89, 97, 140, 159  
 Latin, language, 44, 82  
 Latin, language and literature, 42  
 Latin, world, 159  
 Λατῖνοι, 12 note, 89 note  
 Latinophile, 34  
 Latins, 20 note  
 law, 122  
 Lent, 135  
 Leo, from Cyprus, 48, 108  
 Leo VI, Emperor, 145 note  
 Leo, priest, 8  
 Lependrenos, Andronikos, scribe, 145 note  
 Λέσβος, 13 note  
 Lesbos, 13  
 letters, 155  
*lexica*, 144  
 Λέων, ὀρφανοτρόφος, 87 note  
 Λέων, παπᾶς, 8 note  
 Libanios, 2, 101, 142, 152, 144, 153  
 Libdikes, 16  
 librarian, 70  
 libraries, 6, 12, 13, 20, 133, 134, 137, 138, 141, 142, 143, 159  
 library, 8, 16, 18, 43, 69, 70, 71, 73, 94



- library, imperial, 134, 135 note, 138, 140, 157  
 library, patriarchal, 134, 135 note, 138  
 literature, Byzantine, 48  
 literature, classical Greek, 48  
 λογάδες, 9  
 λογική, 12 note, 59 note  
 λογολεσχία, 149  
 logic, 7, 12, 15, 16, 19, 24, 25, 52, 53, 91, 99,  
     115, 125, 126, 160  
 logoi, 55, 146 note  
 logos, 39, 87 note, 155 note  
 logothete, grand, 116  
 Lopadiotes, Andreas, 47  
 Loukites, Constantine, student of Theodore  
     Hyrtakenos, *prōtonotarios*, *protōvestiarios*,  
     93, 94 note, 95, 109, 110 note, 142  
 Lyons, council, 35  
 Lyons, Union of, 66, 125  
 Lysias, 142  
  
 Macedonia, 15 note, 93  
 Μάγιστρος, 88 note  
 Madyta, 6 note, 8, 41 note  
 Magistros, Thomas, teacher and philologist,  
     48, 88, 107 note, 128, 144, 153 note  
 μαθηματικὴ τετρακτὺς, 156  
*maistōr tōn philosophōn*, 5, 51, 114  
*maistōr tōn rhetorōn*, 51, 55  
 Μακρομβολίτης, Εὐστάθιος, 58 note  
 Makrotos, John imperial secretary, 16, 22  
     note  
 Manasses, Constantine, metropolitan of  
     Ephesos, 12  
 Manikaïtes, imperial secretary, 21  
 Manuel, cleric, 95  
 Manuel II, Patriarch, 14, 15 note, 22  
 Μάρλα, Αὐγυπτία, 58 note  
 Markos, monk, student of George of Cyprus,  
     38  
 Marmaras, George, scribe, 46  
 Marmora, sea, 57, 93  
 Mary, Virgin, 155 note  
 Matarangides, student of Manuel Moscho-  
     poulos, 108  
 manuscripts, 31, 46, 72, 76, 77, 79 note, 81  
     note, 88, 92, 97, 98 note, 108, 109  
 manuscripts:  
     Alexandr. 34 (327): 22 note  
     Ambros. Gr. B 97 sup.: 108 note  
     Ambros. Gr. C 126 inf.: 74, 85, 88 note, 140  
     Ambros. Gr. & 157 sup.: 72, 140  
     Ambros. Gr. G 14 sup.: 80 note  
     Ambros. Gr. G 43 sup.: 108 note  
     Ambros. Gr. H 58 sup.: 78 note  
     Ambros. Gr. H 81 sup.: 39 note, 41 note,  
         73 note, 75 note, 84 note, 100 note, 131  
         note, 138 note, 141 note, 142 note, 145  
         note, 147 note, 150 note, 152 note, 154 note,  
         155 note, 163  
     Ambros. Gr. 450 (I 4 sup.): 61  
     Ambros. Gr. 463 (I 58 sup.): 95 note, 142  
     Ambros. Gr. 512 (M 46 sup.): 145 note  
     Ambros. Gr. N 166: 79 note  
     Angelicus 38 (C. 3. 7): 63 note  
     Κώδιξ Ἀπολλώνων in Rhodes: 13 note  
     Athous, Iberon 4640 (520): 123 note  
     Athous, Vatopedi 671: 108 note  
     Berol. Ham. 512: 145  
     Bon. Univ. Gr. 3643: 10 note  
     Bon. Univ. Gr. 3644: 10 note  
     British Museum Add. 16409: 75, 140, 147  
         note  
     British Museum Add. 17473: 65 note  
     Bremen Staatsbibliothek b. 23: 79 note  
     Cassellanus Ms. hist. fol. 3: 76, 140  
     Bibliot. Communale at Lodi XXVIII A 8:  
         97 note  
     Dresd. Da, 22: 108 note  
     Edinburgh Adv. r8. 7. 5: 72, 140  
     Escorial. Gr. F. III. 10 (229): 46 note  
     Escorial. Gr. Y-11-10: 114 note  
     Fabricianus 23: 77  
     Ferrara II 155: 79 note  
     Metochion of Panag. Taphos in CP 25: 123  
         note, 127 note  
     Metochion of Panag. Taphos in CP 143:  
         89 note  
     Metochion of Panag. Taphos in CP 144: 89  
         note  
     Metochion of Panag. Taphos in CP 190:  
         89 note  
     Metochion of Panag. Taphos in CP 322: 89  
         note  
     Metochion of Panag. Taphos in CP 492: 89  
         note  
     Metochion of Panag. Taphos in CP 539: 89  
         note  
     Metochion of Panag. Taphos in CP 556: 89  
         note

- Metochion of Panag. Taphos in CP 588: 89  
     note  
 Metochion of Panag. Taphos in CP 648: 135  
     note  
 Metochion of Panag. Taphos in CP 767: 89  
     note  
 Metochion of Panag. Taphos in CP 824: 89  
     note  
 Hierosol. New collection of MSS 31:  
     37 note  
 Hierosol. Patriarch. 40: 100, 145 note  
 Hierosol. Patriarch. 146: 7 note  
 Hierosol. Patriarch. 394: 89 note  
 Hierosol. Patriarch. 453-54: 89 note  
 Hierosol. Sabait. 225: 123 note  
 Hierosol. Sabait. 424: 89 note  
 Hierosol. Sabait. 425: 89 note  
 Hierosol. Sabait. 453: 89 note  
 Hierosol. Sabait. 454: 89 note  
 Hierosol. Sabait. 460: 89 note  
 Hierosol. Sabait. 463: 89 note  
 Hierosol. Sabait. 470: 89 note  
 Hierosol. Sabait. 471: 89 note  
 Hierosol. Sabait. 475: 89 note  
 Hierosol. Sabait. 476: 89 note  
 Hierosol. Sabait. 479: 89 note  
 Hierosol. Sabait. 480: 89 note  
 Hierosol. Sabait. 481: 89 note  
 Hierosol. Sabait. 488: 89 note  
 Hierosol. Sabait. 704: 89 note  
 Laur. Plut. 5, 2: 130 note  
 Laur. Plut. 8, 35: 126 note  
 Laur. Plut. 18, 1: 96 note  
 Laur. Plut. 28, 2: 80 note  
 Laur. Plut. 28, 12: 96 note, 157  
 Laur. Plut. 28, 39: 130, 142  
 Laur. Plut. 31, 5: 108 note  
 Laur. Plut. 32, 16: 42, 79, 140, 147  
 Laur. Plut. 55, 7: 98 note, 99 note  
 Laur. Plut. 59, 30: 81 note  
 Laur. Plut. 71, 3: 62 note  
 Laur. Plut. 87, 24: 142  
 Laur. Conventi Soppressi 71: 108 note  
 Laur. Conventi Soppressi 139: 148 note  
 Laur. San Marco 356: 108 note  
 Leidensis B. P. G. 49: 59 note  
 Bibl. Malatestiana, Cod. Cesen. 27. 2: 141  
 Marc. Gr. 83 (*collocazione* 512): 88 note  
 Marc. Gr. 202 (*collocazione* 745): 124 note,  
     145  
 Marc. Gr. 407: 139  
 Marc. Gr. 450: 139  
 Marc. Gr. 452 (*collocazione* 796): 48, 61 note  
 Marc. Gr. 464 (*collocazione* 762): 120 note  
 Marc. Gr. 481: 44 note, 70, 75, 140, 147 note  
 Marc. Gr. XI, 6 (*collocazione* 1142): 74 note  
 Marc. Gr. XI, 15: 105 note  
 Marc. Gr. XI, 31: 11 note  
 Matritensis Gr. 72: 76 note  
 Matritensis Gr. 4678 (formerly 48): 74  
 Modene, Bibl. Estense, a. U. 9. 19: 108  
     note  
 Monac. Gr. 430: 44, 76, 140  
 Monac. Gr. 442: 63 note  
 Mosquensis Gr. 315 (441 Vladimir; CCCII  
     Matthaei): 67 note, 80 note  
 Mutin. Gr. 82 (III C 3): 46 note, 59 note  
 Neapol. II. F. 9 (Cyrillus 165): 79 note,  
     81 note, 108 note  
 Oxon. Auct. F. 3. 25: 105 note, 108 note  
 Oxon. Barocci 120: 105 note  
 Oxon. Cromwell 19: 139  
 Oxon. Laud. Gr. 54: 108 note  
 Palat. Heidelberg. Gr. 23: 76  
 Palat. Heidelberg. Gr. 88: 142  
 Patm. 175: 13 note  
 Patm. 743: 13 note  
 Paris. Gr. 194 A: 136 note  
 Paris. Gr. 448: 145 note  
 Paris. Gr. 857: 135 note  
 Paris. Gr. 1115: 135 note  
 Paris. Gr. 1193: 21 note  
 Paris. Gr. 1209: 93 note  
 Paris. Gr. 1234: 139, 145  
 Paris. Gr. 1393: 77  
 Paris. Gr. 1409: 81 note  
 Paris. Gr. 1671: 69, 74, 75, 140  
 Paris. Gr. 1672: 88 and note  
 Paris. Gr. 1741: 139 and note, 145 note  
 Paris. Gr. 1930: 145  
 Paris. Gr. 1999: 25 note  
 Paris. Gr. 2338: 63 note  
 Paris. Gr. 2339: 62 note  
 Paris. Gr. 2373: 80 note  
 Paris. Gr. 2390: 97 note, 145 note  
 Paris. Gr. 2438: 62 note  
 Paris. Gr. 2572: 104 note  
 Paris. Gr. 2625: 134 note  
 Paris. Gr. 2722: 140 note  
 Paris. Suppl. Gr. 384: 76

- Paris. Suppl. Gr. 1262: 137  
 Paris. Suppl. Gr. 1278: 7 note  
 Paris. Coislin Gr. 5: 137 note  
 Paris. Coislin Gr. 89: 137  
 Paris. Coislin Gr. 169: 108 note  
 Paris. Coislin Gr. 192: 119 note  
 Paris. Coislin Gr. 323: 121, 124 note  
 Paris. Coislin Gr. 341: 105 note  
 Rossianus XI, 130: 62 note  
 Seragliensis 57: 77  
 Sinait. Gr. 1706: 58 note  
 Taurin. Pas. Gr. 356: 48  
 Vat. Barb. Gr. 102: 104 note  
 Vat. Barber. Gr. 405: 58 note  
 Vat. Palat. Gr. 141: 81 note  
 Vat. Regin. Gr. 63: 135 note  
 Vat. Regin. Gr. 132: 81 note, 140  
 Vat. Regin. Gr. 133: 82 note, 140  
 Vat. Regin. Gr. 147: 80 note  
 Vat. Urbin. 82: 77  
 Vat. Urbin. 140: 108 note  
 Vat. Gr. 29: 104 note  
 Vat. Gr. 42: 130 note  
 Vat. Gr. 50: 108 note  
 Vat. Gr. 64: 121, 143  
 Vat. Gr. 97: 107 note  
 Vat. Gr. 176: 97 note  
 Vat. Gr. 177: 69, 77  
 Vat. Gr. 191: 77, 142 note  
 Vat. Gr. 207: 73 note, 139  
 Vat. Gr. 305: 67 note  
 Vat. Gr. 448: 136 note  
 Vat. Gr. 456: 137  
 Vat. Gr. 636: 139  
 Vat. Gr. 844: 85 note  
 Vat. Gr. 951: 81 note  
 Vat. Gr. 1085: 46 note, 59 note  
 Vat. Gr. 1104: 58 note  
 Vat. Gr. 1303: 108 note  
 Vat. Gr. 1899: 140, 145  
 Vind. Phil. Gr. 21: 83, 140  
 Vind. Phil. Gr. 103: 80 note  
 Vind. Phil. Gr. 127: 106 note  
 Vind. Phil. Gr. 169: 106 note  
 Vind. Phil. Gr. 254: 10, 11 note, 51, 54 note, 152  
 Vind. Theol. Gr. 174: 88 note, 101 note, 131 note  
 Vind. Lat. 10437 (Philos. 184): 97 note  
 manuscripts, illuminated, 137  
  
*mathēmataria*, 89  
 mathematics, 18, 20, 40, 63 note, 72, 91, 105, 109, 156, 157, 158, 161  
 mathematicians, ancient Greek, 161  
 mathematics, higher, 1, 5, 54, 56, 62, 78, 82, 95, 104, 122, 151, 155, 156, 158  
 mathematics, lower, 1  
 Maximos, *archimandritēs*, *prōtosyngellos*, 58  
 Maximos, philosopher, 68, 77  
*Maximus, philosophus grecus, monacus*, 69  
 Medea, 11 note  
 medicine, 5, 8, 13, 54, 78, 81, 86, 87, 128, 156, 161  
 Megas Agros, monastery, 57  
*megas dioikētēs*, 94 note  
*megas logothetēs*, 116  
*megas oikonomos*, 73 note  
*megas prōtosyngellos*, 58  
*megas sakellarios*, 120, 122  
 Melchisedek, monk, see Akropolites, Melchisedek  
 Μελένικον, 84 note  
 Melenikon, 84, 102, 110, 143  
*meletai*, 153  
 Μελέτιος, ὁ Νεῖλου, 62 note  
 Meletios, son of Neilos, scribe, 61, 62 note,  
 Melitas, deacon, scribe 37, 38, 46  
 Meliteniotes, Constantine, 34, 146, 150  
 μεμβράνη, 74 note, 75 note  
*mēnaia*, 135 note  
 Μενέλαος, 165  
 Μερκούριος, 83 note, 85 note  
 Merkourios, monk, student of Maximos Platonides, 83, 84, 85, 102, 150 note  
*Περὶ σφυγμῶν*, 81  
 Mesarites, John, *didaskalos tou psaltēros*, 6 note  
 Mesarites, Nikolaos, metropolitan of Ephesos, 6, 54, 156  
 Mesopotamites, Joseph, imperial secretary, 22 note  
 Mesothinia, 85  
 metaphysics, 91  
 Meteorion, 53  
 Methymna, 11 note  
*metochion*, 25  
 Metochites, George, 34, 59, 67, 90  
 Metochites, Nikephoros, student of Theodore Hyrtakenos, grand logothete, 94 and note  
 Metochites, Theodore, *logothetēs tou genikou*,

- grand logothete, 26 note, 58, 69, 83, 88, 90, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 126, 129, 144 note, 150, 155, 156, 157  
 Encomium on Nicaea, 92  
 μέτρα, 88 note  
 metre, 56, 78, 82, 83, 85  
 Michael, of Anchialos, consul of the philosophers, Patriarch of Constantinople, 114, 130  
 Michael, Archangel, church, 58  
*mimēsis*, 151 note  
 monasteries, 70  
 Monasteriotes, metropolitan of Ephesos, 7  
 Mongols, 36, 141  
 Monomachos, Constantine IX, Emperor, 113  
 Moschabar, 143  
 Moschabar, George, *chartophylax*, *didaskalos tou Evangeliou*, 60, 61 note, 64, 129 note, 143 note  
 Moschenos, Theodore, *didaskalos tōn Evangelion*, 59 note  
 Μοσχά[μ]παρ, 61 note  
 Μοσχάπαρ, Γεώργιος, διδάσκαλος τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου, 60 note  
 μουσική, 77 note  
 Moschopoulos, Manuel, teacher and philologist, 48, 67, 72, 83, 86 note, 88 note, 90, 101, 103, 105, 107, 157 'Ερωτήματα γραμματικά, 105, Παράδοσις εἰς τὴν εὐρεσιν τῶν τετραγώνων ἀριθμῶν, 108, Περί σχεδῶν, 104, 106, *Schedographia*, 104, 106, Συλλογὴ ὀνομάτων Ἀττικῶν, 105, 106  
 Moschopoulos, Nikephoros (= Neilos), metropolitan of Crete, 103, 104, 105, 141  
 Μοσχόπουλος, Μανουήλ, 107 note  
 Μουζάλων, μέγας λογοθέτης, 92 note  
 Mouzalon, George, *prōtorestiarios*, 44, 53  
 Mouzalon, Theodore, student of George of Cyprus, *logothetēs tou gemikou*, grand logothete, *prōtorestiarios*, 36, 40, 43, 45, 47, 53, 66, 69, 70, 71, 73, 92, 98, 129 note, 150  
 Muses, 122  
 music, 1, 7 note, 19, 77, 78, 80, 97, 98 note, 122, 128, 156, 157, 159  
 music, ecclesiastical, 127  
 music, elementary, 54  
 musicographers, 97  
 Muslim, domination, 162  
 Muslim, world, 159  
 Mt. Athos, 13, 37 note, 95, 121  
 μυθοί, 100  
 μῦθος, 152  
 Myrepsos (?), Nikolaos, *aktouarios*, 13, 14  
 Mystras, 110, 161  
 mythology, ancient Greek, 11, 122  
 mythology, Greek, 82  
 Nation, modern Greek, 21 note  
 νεαρά, 50  
 Neilos, scribe, 13 note  
 Neokaisareites, Manuel, student of George of Cyprus, *prōtoasēkrētis*, 35, 36 note, 37, 38, 146, 148 note  
 Neokaisareites, Michael, *megas adnoumiastēs*, 37 note  
 Νεοκαισαρίτης, Μανουήλ, πρωτασεκρίτης, 37 note  
 Neophron, 78  
 Neophytos, monk, 158  
 Neoplatonism, 113  
 Neoplatonists, 126  
 Nicander, *Theriaka*, 67 note  
 Nicosia, 25  
 Nicaea, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 16, 17 note, 18 note, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 31, 39, 40, 53, 56, 61, 91, 92, 109, 115, 134, 142, 143, 149, 151, 152,  
 Nicaea, Empire of, 6, 19, 52, 60, 64  
 Νικαέων, ἡ, 17 note, 18 note  
 Nikephoros, metropolitan of Ephesos, 19 note  
 Nikephoros, son of Theodore Metochites, 94  
 Niceta, Cyprius, 142 note  
 Niketas, ὁ τοῦ Σεργῶν, 50 note  
 Nikomachos, of Gerasa, 32, 71, 78 note, 91, 137, 156, 157  
 Νικόμαχος, 32, 33 note  
 Ἀριθμητική, 13 note  
 Nikomedeia, 42  
 Νικομηδέων, ἡ, 42 note  
 Niphon, Patriarch of Constantinople, 59 note, 121, 129 note, 142, 143 note  
*nomismata*, 137  
*nomokanōn*, 139  
 Nonnos, of Panopolis, 70  
 Hexametric paraphrase of the Gospel of St. John, 79, *Dionysiaka*, 79, 148 note  
 notaries, 23  
 νοτάριοι, 94 note  
*Notitia Dignitatum*, 50

- Ntamylos, Neilos, 88  
 numerals, Arabic, 158  
 Nymphai, 94  
 Nymphaiion, 9, 53, 78, 144
- Ochrida, 36, 117, 118, 120, 122, 123, 125, 127, 130  
 Oedipus, 11 note  
*officia*, 116  
*οἰκονομία*, 17 note  
*οἰκονομία*, 17 note  
*οἰκουμένικος διδάσκαλος*, 50, 55  
 Oinaiotai, 69  
 Oinaiotas, Andronikos, 69  
 Oinaiotas, George, 48, 93 note, 99  
 Ὀλόβολος, Μάξιμος, μέγας πρωτοσύγγελλος, 56 note, 58 note, 118 note  
*ὀμιληταί*, 33 note, 102 note  
*ὀμιλος*, 150 note  
 Opsikianos, John, 99  
 optics, 158  
 orations, 155  
 orators, 152  
*Orphanotropheion*, 39, 51, 53, 54  
 Orthodox, 66  
 Orthodoxy, 12, 61 note  
*ὀρφανοτροφεία*, 53 note  
*ὀφφίκια*, 30, 116  
*ὀφφίκιον, καλογερικόν*, 58 note
- Pachymeres, George, *didaskalos tou Apostou*, μέγας διδάσκαλος, *dikaiophylax, hieromnēmōn, prōtekdikos*, 8 note, 16 note, 20 note, 22 note, 23 note, 24, 25 note, 26 note, 33 note, 34, 35 note, 36 note, 38 note, 39, 40, 41 note, 43, 47, 52, 53 note, 55, 57, 58 note, 59, 60, 61, 64, 65, 66 note, 78, 83, 84 note, 85 note, 87, 91, 92 note, 97, 98 note, 108, 125, 126, 129 note, 130, 137 note, 141, 142 note, 143 note, 145, 149, 150 note, 152, 153, 154, 160  
*Quadrivium*, 63, 157, *Σύνταγμα τῶν τεσσάρων μαθημάτων, ἀριθμητικῆς, μουσικῆς, γεωμετρίας καὶ ἀστρονομίας*, 62  
 Scholia on Homer, 61  
*Progymnasmata*, 61  
 Declamations, 61  
 Summary of the Aristotelian philosophy, 63  
 Scholia on the psalms, 60, 63, Paraphrase of pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite, 63  
*παίδευσις, θύραθεν*, 16, 160  
*παίδευσις, ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς*, 16  
*παιδευτής*, 36 note  
*paidopoula*, 8  
 Palaiokappa, Constantine, scribe, 62 note  
 Palaiologoi, 1, 2, 61, 127 note, 159  
 Palaiologos, Andronikos, 94 note  
 Palaiologos, Andronikos II, Emperor, 36, 37, 45, 57, 58, 66, 67, 77, 85, 92, 94, 95, 96, 109, 110, 125, 149, 160  
 Palaiologos, Andronikos III, Emperor, 117, 119 note  
 Palaiologos, Constantine, 37  
 Palaiologos, Michael VIII, Emperor, 22 note, 26, 31, 32, 34, 36, 39, 40, 41, 44, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 60, 61 note, 66, 67, 86 note, 90, 109, 122, 131, 135 note, 138, 140, 141, 149, 150, 154, 160  
 Palaiologos, Michael IX, Emperor, 80, 98  
 Palaiologos, usurper, 26  
 Palaitimos, 78  
 Palamas, 102  
 Palamas, Gregory, 149  
 Palestine, 25, 60  
 Panaretos, Stephanos, *prōtekdikos*, 63 note  
 Panopolis, 70  
 Pantepoptes, monastery, 69  
 Pantokrator, monastery, 16 note  
 Παντοκράτωρ, μοναστήριον, 35 note  
 paper, 137 note  
 paper, bombycine, 136  
 paper, Western, 136  
 parchment, 74, 75, 135, 136, 147  
 Paris, University, 32 note  
*παροιμία*, 88 note  
 Patmos, 13 note  
 Patras, 51  
 Patriarch, 27, 54, 57, 64, 85, 132, 159, 160  
 patriarchate, 33 note, 161  
 Paul, of Aegina, 143  
 Παύλου, νεώς, 53 note  
 Pediadites, Basil, 54  
 Pediasimoi, family, 118  
 Pediasimos, John, see Pothos, John Pediasimos  
 Πεδιάσιμος, Ἰωάννης, ὕπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων, 117 note, 124 note  
 Pediasimos, Theodore, teacher of the *enkyklios paideia*, 119  
 πειραταί, 75 note

- Peloponnese, 116 note  
 Penteklesiotes, John, 139  
 Pepagomenos, 155 note  
 Pergamon, 22, 78 note, 83  
 Peribleptos, monastery, 70, 78  
 Periegetes, Dionysios, 24  
 Persia, 96, 109  
 Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου, ναός, 39 note  
 Phaix (Φάιξ), John, 21  
 Phakrases, John, 45, 71  
 Phakrases, πατήρ, 71  
 Phapes, John, *exarchos*, *hypomimnēskōn*, logothete, 68  
 Philadelphia, 22, 23, 48, 108  
 Philanthropenos, Alexios Tarchaneiotes, 43, 67, 74, 75, 76, 78, 84, 85, 136  
 Philanthropenos, Δούκας, 75 note  
 Philanthropenos (Philanthropou Soteris), monastery, 70  
 Philes, Manuel, student of George Pachymeres, poet, 43, 55 note, 58 note, 61, 63, 65, 86 note, 80 note, 95  
 philologists, 48  
 Philoponos, 2, 125  
 Philosopher, Leo, 151  
 philosophers, 21, 116  
 philosophers, ancient Greek, 126, 161  
 philosophers, Greek, 131  
*philosophos*, 69 note  
 philosophy, 1, 5, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26, 31, 32, 40, 54, 63, 78, 113, 114, 122, 124, 125, 126, 128, 131, 155, 156, 158, 161  
 philosophy, ancient Greek, 161  
 philosophy, Aristotelian, 36  
 Philosophy, School of, see School of Philosophy  
 Philostratos, 143  
*Imagines*, 106, 107  
 Phobenos, George, *dikaiophylax*, 118 note, 119 note, 120, 123  
*De casso*, 127, *De hypobolo*, 127  
 Phokas, student of Theodore Hyrtakenos, 93, 94 note  
 Phokas, metropolitan of Philadelphia, 23  
 Phokas, Constantine, imperial official, 93 note  
 Photainopoulos, Michael, *nomophylax*, ὑπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων, 132  
 Photios, 151  
*Bibliotheca*, 139  
 Phrangopoulos, Andonikos, teacher of grammar, 19  
*phrontistērion*, 68, 81, 138  
 physics, 8, 19, 22, 24, 56, 61 note, 91, 125, 158  
 Pindar, 107, 151  
*Nemeans*, 79, *Olympians*, 79, *Pythians*, 79  
 pirates, 74  
 Pisides, 141, 142, 147  
 Πλανούδης, Μανουήλ-Μάξιμος, 42, 67 note, 72, 73 note, 76 note, 88 note  
 Planoudes, Manuel-Maximos, teacher and philologist, monk, 38, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 58 note, 60 note, 62, 66, 67, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76, 77, 82, 84, 85, 86, 88, 90, 91, 93, 96, 97 note, 98, 101, 103, 104, 105, 107 note, 110, 136, 140, 142 note, 144, 145, 147, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 159, 160  
*Anthology*, 70, 75, 89, *Ἀντικισμοί*, 79, *Βασιλικὸς λόγος*, 80, *Γραμματικῆς διάλογος*, 78, *Encomia of saints*, 80, *Encomium on St. Diomedes*, 80 note, *Encomium on Sts Peter and Paul*, 80 note, *Idyllium*, 79, *Indian Calculus*, 80, 157, *Περὶ μεταβατικῶν καὶ ἀμεταβάτων ῥημάτων*, 79, *Περὶ συντάξεως τῶν τοῦ λόγου μερῶν*, 79, *Συναγωγή*, 81, 83, *Χειμῶνος ἐγκώμιον*, 80, *Ἑτεροί παροιμίαι δημῳδοί*, 81 note, *Στιχηρὰ σταυροθεοτοκία*, 87 note  
 Plato, 31, 36 note, 46, 83, 126, 127, 129, 131, 138, 140, 144, 152, 153, 163  
*Menon*, 141, *Παρμενίδης*, 139 note, *Parmenides*, 36 note, 128, 129 note, 138, *Timaeus*, 128, *Τίμαιος*, 129 note  
 Plotinos, 31, 131 note, 141  
 Πλούταρχος, 74 note  
 Plutarch, 88, 136, 140  
*Lives*, 75, 81, *Moralia*, 74, 75, 81  
*Πλωτίνος*, 31 note  
*Πνεῦμα*, πανάγιον, 12 note  
 poetry, 1, 7, 10, 11, 19, 26, 36, 42, 56, 62, 65, 71, 72, 78, 79, 82, 88, 90, 92, 93, 101, 104, 108, 117, 122, 128, 151, 159, 160, 161  
 poetry, ancient Greek, 161  
 poetry, minor, 76, 81  
 Πόθος, Ἰωάννης, διάκονος, 120, 124 note  
*ποιητικὴ*, 56, 117 note  
 Pope, 6, 20 note  
 Porphyry, 2, 157  
 Pothos, John Pediasimos, *hypatos tōn philo-*

- sophōn*, *chartophylax*, *megas sakellarios*, 34, 36, 62, 83, 91, 98 note, 113, 114, 116 note, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128, 130, 131, 145, 156, 160  
Works on the labours of Hercules and the nine Muses, 122  
Scholia on Hesiod's *Aspis*, 122  
Scholia on Theocritus' *Syrinx*, 122  
Scholia on *Analytica Priora*, *Analytica Posteriora* and *De Interpretatione*, 122  
Σύνοψις περὶ μετρήσεως καὶ μερισμοῦ τῆς γῆς, 122  
Ἐπιστάσιαι μερικαὶ εἰς τινὰ τῆς ἀριθμητικῆς σαφηνείας δεόμενα, 122  
Work on the seven planets, 123  
Scholia on Cleomedes, 123  
Περὶ γάμων κεκωλυμένων καὶ ἀκωλύτων, 123  
Περὶ ἑπταμήνων καὶ ἑννεαμήνων, 123 note  
Prinkips, Theodosios, monk, Patriarch of Antioch, 141, 142 note  
Πρόδρομος, μαῖστωρ, 8 note  
Prodromos, monastery of, 53  
Prodromos, of Skamandros, teacher of Nikephoros Blemmydes, hermit, 8, 9, 22 note, 31, 65, 115, 137, 156, 158  
Prodromos, Theodore, 82, 114, 137 note  
professors, 61, 62, 64  
*progymnasmata*, 42, 45, 61, 62, 100, 101, 152, 153  
*prokathēmenos of Bestiarion*, 94 note  
Πρόκλος, 31 note  
Proklos, 31  
*pronoia*, 17, 68, 94, 95  
προσφδία, 88 note  
*prōtekdikos*, 63 note  
*prōtopostolarios*, 33 note, 36  
*prōtos*, 95  
*prōtosyngellos*, 58 note  
*prōtostestarios*, 36, 44, 71  
Prousa, 7  
proverbs, 45, 81  
*prytaneion*, of learning, 110  
Psalms, 24, 50 note, 60, 63, 65 note  
Psalter, 51, 60, 65  
Psellos, Michael, 32 note, 113, 125, 131, 142  
pseudo-Dionysios, Areopagite, 43, note, 63  
pseudo-Psellos, 97  
Πτολεμαῖος, γεωγραφία, 76 note  
Ptolemais (Acre), 25  
Ptolemeus, Claudius, *geographie*, 69  
Ptolemy, 72 note, 77, 88, 96 note, 140  
*Almagest*, 157, *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις*, 80, *Geography*, 69, 76, 157  
Πυθαγόρας, σπήλαιον, 13 note  
*Quadrivium*, 62, 82, 91, 96, 97, 113, 122, 123, 125, 128, 134, 155, 157, 158  
Quintilianus, Aristides, 157  
Rabdas, Nikolaos, 88, 105, 108  
Radenos, family, 93 note  
Radenos, Nikolaos (?), student of Theodore Hyrtakenos, 93, 94 note  
Raoul, family, 86 note  
Raoul, John, *prōtostestarios*, 44  
Raoulaina, Theodora, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48 note, 55 note, 76, 78, 109, 129 note, 140, 145, 146, 147, 148 note, 150  
Raseos, John, scribe, 62 note  
Ραφαήλ, Κωνσταντῖνος, 132  
rhetor, 50, 51, 53, 55, 57, 58, 154  
*rhetor tōn rhetorōn*, 55  
rhetoric, 1, 5, 7, 10, 11, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 26, 32, 36, 39, 40, 43, 45, 46, 51, 54, 56, 61, 62, 63, 72, 78, 80, 82, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93, 99, 100, 101, 106, 108, 109, 113, 117, 122, 124, 128, 134, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 160, 161  
Rhodes, 13  
ρήτορες, Ἀττικοί, 47 note  
ρήτορικὴ, 21 note, 33 note, 117 note  
ῥήτωρ τῶν ῥητόρων, 55 note  
Romaioi, 20 note  
Romanos, student of Nikephoros Blemmydes, 11 note, 12  
root, square, 73  
Rosion, 84 note  
Rouinius, Lailius, 62 note  
Ῥωμαῖοι, 20 note, 163  
Ῥωμαῖοι (= Ἕλληνες), 26 note  
Saints, lives, 41  
salaries, 19, 54  
Salmasius, 76  
Samos, 13  
Sanktamavras, John, scribe, 62 note  
Saponopoulos, Theodosios, *prōtonotarios*, 67  
Sardis, 6 note, 23  
*Schedographia*, 11

- Scholarios, George—Gennadios, Patriarch of Constantinople, 47, 48, 127
- scholars, Nicaean, 134
- scholars, Palaiologan, 134
- scholia, 79 note, 147, 148, 151
- school, grammar, 51
- School, Higher, of Constantinople, 34
- School, Patriarchal, 1, 5, 6, 8, 11, 27, 31, 43, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 101, 114, 124, 125, 130, 132, 139, 143 note, 149, 154, 156, 160
- School, of Philosophy, 27, 32, 113
- school, public, of St. Paul, 39
- schools, 51, 52, 54, 56
- scribes, 45, 46, 71, 72, 74, 137, 145, 147
- scriptorium, 46 note
- Scriptures, Holy, 9, 55 note, 101, 149, 160, 161
- σέκρετον, 35 note
- sekreton, 34
- semneion, 24
- Senachereim, Michael, teacher of poetry and rhetoric, *prōtoasēkrētis*, *mesazōn*, 19, 26 note, 151 note
- Serenos, 91, 156
- Sergios, judge of Thrakesion, 11 note
- Σέρραι, 50 note
- Serrai, 119
- servants, civil, 33, 35
- Sigriane, 57
- Silentiarios, pseudo—Paulus, 107
- Simon, of Constantinople, Dominican, 58, 125
- Simonides, 144
- Simplikios, 125
- σπηγεσιον, 10
- Σκάμανδρος, 20 note
- Skamandros, 8, 20 note
- Skamandros, *phrontistērion*, 8 note
- Skoutariotes, Nikolaos, 139
- Skoutariotes, Theodore, *dikaiophylax*, bishop of Kyzikos, 6 note, 12 note, 14 note, 19 note, 20, 23, 36 note, 63 note, 138, 145, 150
- Σκουταριώτης, Θεόδωρος, 139 note
- Skylitzes, Stephanos, 54
- Slavs, 54
- Smyrna, 7 note, 59 note
- Solon, 144
- Sophocles, 104, 143, 144
- Ajax, 79, 88, 107, 151, *Electra*, 79, 107, 151, *O. Tyrannus*, 79, 107, 151
- Sophonias, monk, 125, 126, 131 note, Paraphrase on Aristotle's *Categorias*, *Sophisticos elenchos*, *De Anima*, *Parva Naturalia*, *Ethica Nicomachia*, *Physica*, *Metaphysica*, 125
- Spirit, Holy, 12 note
- Spirit, Holy, Procession, 67
- St. Andrew, monastery, 44
- St. Augustine, 67
- De Trinitate*, 66, 88
- St. Basil, *Asketika*, commentary on Isaiah, 139, *Ethika*, 138, 140
- St. Constantine, 40
- St. Christophoros, 41 note
- St. Demetrios, 127 note
- St. Dionysios, Areopagite, 41 note
- St. Euplos, 39
- St. Euthymios, of Madyta, 41 note
- St. George, 41 note
- St. Gregory, of Nazianzos, 138
- St. John, 39, 40, 79
- Gospel*, 70
- St. John, the Baptist, church, 70
- St. John, Merciful the Young, 39, 40, 53
- St. John, of Patmos, monastery, 13 note, 114 note, 144 note
- St. Lazaros, of Galesion, 41 note
- St. Luke, 149
- St. Marina, Antiochina, 41 note
- St. Maximos, Confessor, 63
- St. Michael, monastery, 58 note, 85, 86 note
- St. Paul, church, 39, 53, 54
- St. Paul, *Epistles*, 51, 139
- St. Paul, school, 40
- St. Peter, church, 51
- St. Sophia, 38, 51, 59, 60, 88 note, 135 note
- St. Theodore, of Sphorakios, church, 51
- St. Tryphon, church, 19, 20, 39
- St. Tryphon, school, 26, 27, 53, 54
- State, 1, 2, 5, 9, 17, 21, 22, 66, 90, 92, 93, 95, 109, 110, 116, 148, 151, 154, 155, 159, 161, 162
- State, Epirote, 13, 15
- States, Greek, 26
- Stavrakios, John, *chartophylax*, scribe, 35 note, 36 note, 46, 121 note, 127
- Stilbes, Constantine—Cyril, 11, 54
- Stoudios, monastery, 136, 148 note



- Strabo, 77  
*Geography*, 74 note  
 Strategopoulos, Alexios, 53  
 Sts Peter and Paul, 80 note 87 note,  
 Sts Peter and Paul, church, 39, 51, 54  
 students, 54, 56, 57, 65, 72, 80, 82, 83, 84,  
 86, 87  
 studies, Platonic, 126  
 style, Attic, 47, 48  
 Sunday, Easter, 101  
*σύγκρισις*, 100, 152  
*συλλογιστική*, 33 note, 117 note  
*σύλλογοι*, 150  
 syllogistic, 8, 22, 32, 36, 91, 117  
 symbolism, neopythagorean, of numbers, 123  
 Synadenos, John Komnenos, *megas strato-*  
*pedarchēs*, 137  
 Synesios, 143, 144, 152  
*σύνοδοι*, 150 note  
 synonyms, 106  
 syntax, 78, 98, 101, 103  
 Syria, 60  
 Συριανός, 139 note  
 Syrianos, 36 note, 138  
*σχέδη*, 106  
*σχολαὶ λογικαί*, 99 note  
*σχολή, γραμματικευομένων*, 53  
*Σχολή, Πατριαρχική*, 132 note  
*Σωσάννα*, 101 note  
*Σωτήρ*, 101 note  
  
 Tabriz, 158  
 teachers, 2, 7, 8, 12, 14, 19, 25, 26, 38, 40,  
 41, 42, 54, 63, 64, 65, 70, 71, 82, 90, 92, 93,  
 95, 102, 108, 109, 124, 152, 155  
*Technopaegnia*, 55  
*Τεσσαράκοντα Μάρτυρες, τῆς μέσης*, church,  
 51 note  
 Testament, New, 160  
 Testament, Old, 100, 139, 160  
 text-books, 1, 2, 8, 24, 62, 64, 76, 78, 80, 83,  
 89, 98, 103, 105, 106, 108, 117, 125, 126,  
 151, 153, 155, 156  
 texts, 81  
 Themistios, 125, 143  
 Theocritian corpus, 55  
 Theocritos, 79, 107, 151  
*Syrinx*, 119, 122  
 Theodore, of Smyrna, 113  
 Theodoret, 139  
 Theodosios, 137, 156  
*Sphairika*, 71, 91, 157  
 Theodosios, monk, 67 note  
 Theognostos, bishop of Chalkedon, 68 note  
 Theognostos, John, doctor, private teacher,  
 90  
 Theoktistos, metropolitan of Adrianople, 67  
 Theoleptos, metropolitan of Philadelphia, 48  
 theology, 2, 12, 17, 20, 22, 24, 52, 64, 65, 91  
 Theon, of Smyrna, 2, 157  
 Theophilopoulos, George, 22 note  
 Theophilopoulos, Michael, imperial secretary,  
 15 note, 16, 22  
 Theophylaktos, scribe, 67 note  
*Theotokos Diakonissa*, church, 52  
*Theotokos τῶν Chalkoprateiῶν*, church, 51  
 Thessalonike, *προκαθημένη τῶν Θεσσαλῶν*,  
 13, 15 note, 35 note, 37, 43, 46, 48, 60  
 note, 71, 74 note, 76, 84 note, 108, 110,  
 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 127, 128, 142,  
 143, 144, 145, 161  
 Thessaly, 84, 85, 86, 101, 102, 103, 142, 144  
*Thomaites*, 135 note  
 Thrace, 50 note, 84 note  
 Thrax, Dionysios, 2  
 Thucydides, 76, 140, 144, 152, 160  
 Tornikes, Andronikos, 35 note  
 Tornikes, Constantine, 35 note  
 Tornikes, Demetrios, *parakoimōmenos*, 35 note  
 Tornikes, George, *maistōr τῶν rhetorōn*,  
 bishop of Patras, 11, 51  
 Tornikes, John, *δοῦξ, κελευστής τοῦ θέματος*  
*Θρακησιῶν, sebastokratōr*, 34, 35 note  
 Tornikes, Maria, daughter of John Tornikes,  
 35 note  
*Tourkokratia*, 89, 132, 162  
 tragedians, 151  
 treasury, imperial, 54  
 treaty, Veneto-Byzantine, 58  
 Trebizond, 93, 95, 109, 110, 116, 142, 155  
 note, 158 note, 161  
 Triklinios, Demetrios, teacher and philologist,  
 48, 72 note, 88, 119, 128, 147  
*Epinikia*, edition of, 107  
 Troad, 8, 22 note  
 Troy, 79, 85  
 Tryphiodoros, *Capture of Troy*, 79  
 Turks, 43, 48, 135  
*typikon*, 20, 24, 39  
 Tzetzes, John, 82, 114, 147 note

- Tziskos, Peter, *hieromnēmōn*, *prōtekdikos*,  
118 note, 120
- Union, 41, 44, 45, 56, 57, 59, 60, 64, 66, 67  
unionists, 34, 66, 67  
University, Imperial, 130  
University, Latin, 32 note  
Urine, 81
- Venice, 58, 84, 87, 145  
Vergetius, Angelus, scribe, 62 note
- West, 35, 73, 124  
West, Latin, 132, 152, 162  
Wonderworker, St. Gregory, monastery, 11,  
17  
works, Persian, 158  
writers, Christian, 81  
writers, pagan, 81
- Xanthopoulos, Nikephoros Kallistos, 60 note  
*Ecclesiastical history*, 135 note  
Xanthopoulos, Theodore, student of George  
of Cyprus(?), 38, 45, 142, 147, 150  
Xiphilinos, Theodore, *chartophylax*, *megas*  
*oikonomos*, 23, 73 note, 139  
Xiphilinos, Manuel, 23 note, 139  
Xylander, G., 80 note
- Ἰαλέας, 92 note  
Yneotes, Andronicus, 69  
ὑπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων, 113, 114, 115, 127  
note
- Φάιξ, Ἰωάννης, 21 note  
φιλόβιβλος, 138  
φιλοσοφία, 12 note, 17 note, 21 note  
φιλοσοφολέσχη, 149  
Φιλόσοφος, monastery, 116 note  
Φιλόστρατος, 107 note  
φροντιστήριον, 86 note
- Χαλκωματοπούλος, 93 note  
χάρτης, 136 note, 137 note  
χρεία, 152  
Χριστός, 60 note, 101 note  
Χώρα, μονή, 68 note
- Ψαλτήριον, 50 note  
ψῆφος, 73 note  
Ψηφοφορία, 72, 73 note  
ψόγος, 100, 152
- Zacharias, John, *aktouarios*, doctor and philo-  
sopher, student of Maximos Planoudes,  
81, 83, 86, 87, 102, 150 note  
Zarides, Andronikos, student of Maximos  
Planoudes, 83, 84, 85, 87, 102, 143, 150  
note  
Zarides, brothers, 83, 102  
Zarides, John, Ἀσιανός ἀδελφός, student of  
Maximos Planoudes, 74, 83, 84, 102, 110,  
150 note  
Zosimos, 71, 157  
Zygabenos, 139

## PLATES



[illegible]





